OXFORD STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE SYNTAX

The Syntax of Ellipsis

Evidence from Dutch Dialects

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck

THE SYNTAX OF ELLIPSIS

OXFORD STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE SYNTAX
Richard Kayne, General Editor

The Higher Functional Field: Evidence from North Italian Dialects
Cecilia Poletto

The Syntax of Verb-Initial Languages
Edited by Andrew Carnie and Eithne Guilfoyle

Parameters and Universals
Richard Kayne

Portuguese Syntax: New Comparative Studies
Edited by João Costa

XP-Adjunction in Universal Grammar: Scrambling and Binding in Hindi-Urdu
Ayesha Kidwai

Infinitive Constructions: A Syntactic Analysis of Romance Languages
Guido Mensching

Subject Inversion in Romance and the Theory of Universal Grammar
Edited by Aafke Hulk and Jean-Yves Pollock

Subjects, Expletives, and the EPP
Edited by Peter Svenonius

A Unified Theory of Verbal and Nominal Projections
Yoshiki Ogawa

Functional Structures in DP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 1
Edited by Guglielmo Cinque

Syntactic Heads and Word Formation
Marit Julien

The Syntax of Italian Dialects
Christina Tortora

The Morphosyntax of Complement-Head Sequences: Clause Structure and Word Order Patterns in Kwa
Enoch Oladé Aboh

The Structure of CP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 2
Edited by Luigi Rizzi

The Syntax of Anaphora
Ken Safir

Principles and Parameters in a VSO Language: A Case Study in Welsh
Ian G. Roberts

Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 3
Edited by Adriana Belletti

Movement and Silence
Richard S. Kayne

Restructuring and Functional Heads: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 4
Guglielmo Cinque

Scrambling, Remnant Movement and Restructuring in West Germanic
Roland Hinterhölzl

The Syntax of Ellipsis: Evidence from Dutch Dialects
Jeroen van Craenenbroeck

The Syntax of Ellipsis
Evidence from Dutch Dialects

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

2010

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press, Inc., publishes works that further
Oxford University's objective of excellence
in research, scholarship, and education.

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.
198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016
www.oup.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van, 1976–
The syntax of ellipsis : evidence from Dutch dialects /
Jeroen van Craenenbroeck.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-19-537564-0; 978-0-19-537565-7 (pbk.)
1. Dutch language—Dialects—Syntax. 2. Dutch language—Dialects—Ellipsis.
I. Title.
PF746.C736 2009
439.3′17—dc22 2008040040

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

Voor Fanny

This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

This book is a revised version of my 2004 Leiden University dissertation. The most noticeable differences between my thesis and this work are that sections 3.2.6.6 and 7.3.4 have been added, and the analysis in chapter 14 has been altered considerably. The manuscript has also undergone numerous smaller changes, both stylistically and in terms of content. Many of these changes were the result of me trying to find a reply to the many detailed and insightful comments I received from the two OUP reviewers, so my first thank you goes to them.

On a more general level, there are a number of people I want to thank for their continuing support and advice over the years, both pre- and post-Ph.D. I have benefited enormously from their linguistic knowledge and their scientific rigor, as well as their general view on life: Sjef Barbiers, Hans Bennis, Marcel den Dikken, Dany Jaspers, Richard Kayne, Marjo van Koppen, Howard Lasnik, Jason Merchant, Henk van Riemsdijk, Johan Rooryck, and Guido vanden Wyngaerd. Johan Rooryck deserves special mention here. In 2004, the idiosyncratic Leiden Ph.D. regulations forbade me to thank my supervisor in the acknowledgments. That was a great injustice, as Johan had not only been a truly outstanding supervisor; he was also single-handedly responsible for my starting a Ph.D. in linguistics. It gives me great pleasure to be able to right that wrong here, and to give Johan the credit he deserves. I've known him since 1996, and in that period he has featured in my life in many different guises: as teacher, supervisor, coeditor, cospeaker, mentor, personal career advisor, cook, art lover, and friend. It seems that the only thing missing from the list is coauthor, but it is my sincere hope that that gap will be filled soon.

A work like this cannot be written without the help of native speakers. In this respect, I owe a great debt to the following people: Boban Arsenijević (Serbo-Croatian), Sjef Barbiers (Brabant Dutch), Rob van der Berg (Dutch), Hilda van der

Borght (Wambeek Dutch), Ilse van den Borre (Brabant Dutch), Davy vande Cappelle (Brugge Dutch), Leonie Cornips (Heerlen Dutch), Elke van Craenenbroeck (Brabant Dutch), Jef van Craenenbroeck (Wambeek Dutch), Crit Cremers (Tegelen Dutch), Federico Damonte (Italian), Carine Dejonckheere (Ieper Dutch), Magda Devos (Klemskerke Dutch), Jakub Dotlačil (Czech), Sybren Dyk (Frisian), Colin Ewen (English), Anja van Eycken (Dutch), Jan van Eycken (Brabant Dutch), Dhr. A. Fortuyn (Strijen Dutch), Hans van der Geest (Dutch), Véronique van Gelderen (French), Bert Geukens (Dutch), Ger de Haan (Frisian), Liliane Haegeman (Lapscheure Dutch), Mark Hanekamp (Dutch), Vicky van den Heede and her mother (Waregem Dutch), Frans Hinskens (Waubach Dutch), Eric Hoekstra (Frisian), Jarich Hoekstra (Frisian), Nadine Huylebroeck (Dutch), Mélanie Jouitteau (French), Nancy Kula (English), Ivar Labordus (Dutch), Stephen Laker (English), Howard Lasnik (English), Anikó Lipták (Hungarian), Mieke Maes (Dutch), Jason Merchant (English), Jan de Meyer (Dutch), Roza van Mulders (Brabant Dutch), Jan Nijen-Twilhaar (Hellendoorn Dutch), Øystein Nilsen (Norwegian), Máire Noonan (French), Phillippe Notte (Waarschoot Dutch), Jan-Chris Plaggemars (Dutch), Dhr. W. Reedijk (Strijen Dutch), Milan Rezac (Czech), Johan Rooryck (French), Hugo Ryckeboer (Izenberge Dutch), Fanny Schoevaerts (Dutch), Richard Smits (North Brabant Dutch), Johan Taeldeman (Kleit Dutch), Tom Tiels (Brabant Dutch), Dhr. D. Troost (Strijen Dutch), Dhr. B. Tuk (Strijen Dutch), Danny Vanvelthoven (Dutch), Dhr. J. Veenstra (Nijeholtpade Dutch), Koen Verbeken (Brabant Dutch), Willem Visser (Frisian), Gunther de Vogelaer (Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch), Mark de Vos (English), Henk Wolf (Frisian), and Niel Wouters (Dutch). I also want to thank the Meertens Institute—and Koos Schell in particular—for allowing me to make use of their questionnaire 56C (on Short Do Replies).

My final word of thanks goes to my family and friends, who have kept me sane—well, reasonably—over the years, and who stick by me no matter what. This holds a fortiori for my wonderful wife, Fanny, to whom I dedicate this book with all my love.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND FORMATS USED IN EXAMPLES AND GLOSSES

CAPS	Capitals indicate stress
~~strikethrough~~	Strikethrough indicates deletion/nonpronunciation
underlining	Underlining indicates deaccenting
… (A) …	A is optional
… *(A) …	A is obligatory
… (*A) …	A is excluded
* … (A) …	The sentence is ungrammatical both with and without A
… { A / B } …	A and B are both possible variants
… { A / * B } …	A is an acceptable variant; B is not
* … { A / B } …	Neither A nor B is acceptable
… <A> … <A> …	A can occur either in the first or in the second position
… <*A> … <A> …	A can only occur in the second position
… A_i … B_{*i} …	A and B cannot be coindexed
A < B	A linearly precedes B
[ϕ]	Phi-features (person/number/gender)
[+F]	Focus feature
[+Op]	Operator feature
[+Q]	Question feature
¬	Negation
∃	Existential quantification
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ACC	Accusative
AFF	Affirmative particle
C°	Complementizer
C_Q°	Interrogative complementizer (Japanese and Irish)

CA	Complementizer agreement
CLITIC	Clitic pronoun
CON	Conditional mood (Finnish)
DAT	Dative
DEM	Demonstrative pronoun
EMPH	Emphatic form
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
NEG	Negative clitic (Dutch dialects)
Neg	Negative auxiliary (Finnish)
NOM	Nominative
OBJ	Object
PAST	Past tense
PL	Plural
PRES	Present tense
PRT	Particle
PV	Preverb (Hungarian)
REL	Relative pronoun
SG	Singular
STRONG	Strong pronoun
SUBJ	Subject
TOP	Topic marker (Japanese)
WEAK	Weak pronoun

THE SYNTAX OF ELLIPSIS

This page intentionally left blank

1

Introduction

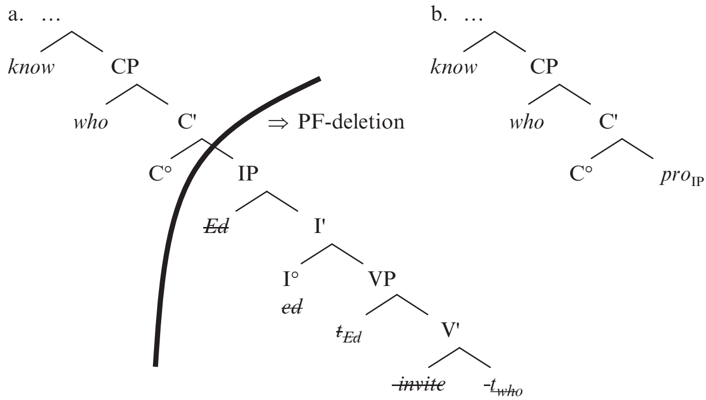
One of the central questions surrounding ellipsis in natural language is how meaning can arise in the absence of form. The sluiced sentence in (1), for example, is interpreted as *I don't know who Ed invited*, in spite of the fact that the only element overtly present in the complement position of the verb *know* is the question word *who*.

(1) Ed invited someone, but I don't know who.

The question of how to bridge this gap between form and meaning can be—and has been—answered in several different ways. In this book, I focus on two main lines of analysis in this debate: the PF-deletion analysis and the *pro*-theory.[1] The crucial difference between them concerns the amount of unpronounced syntactic structure they posit inside an ellipsis site. Advocates of the PF-deletion analysis argue that the gap in clauses containing sluicing or VP-ellipsis consists of a full-fledged syntactic structure the phonological content of which is deleted (or not pronounced)[2] at PF (Hankamer and Sag 1976, Johnson 1996, 2001, Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001c, Merchant 2001, Ross 1969, Sag 1980, Sag and Hankamer 1984, Tomioka 1999, 2001). In such a scenario, the interpretation of an elliptical sentence proceeds exactly as that of a nonelliptical one, that is, via a compositional, one-to-one mapping between syntax and semantics. Representatives of the *pro*-theory, on the other hand, analyze an ellipsis site as a null, structureless non-DP proform that is assigned an interpretation at LF (Chao 1987, Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey 1995, Fortin 2007, Hardt 1993, 1999, Lobeck 1995, 1999, López 1995, 1999, López and Winkler 2000, Zagona 1988).[3] In this theory, the question of how to interpret an elliptical sentence is reduced to the question of how to interpret (a sentence containing) a pronoun.

In order to make this distinction more concrete, consider the two schematic tree structures in (2) of the embedded, sluiced complement of the example in (1).

(2)



The PF-deletion analysis of (1) is represented by the structure in (2)a. In this approach, the interrogative complement clause of the verb *know* is fully merged in the pre-Spell-Out part of the derivation. When handed over to PF, however, the IP-complement of the C°-head, the specifier of which hosts the sluiced wh-phrase, is deleted. Advocates of this approach often present connectivity effects between the fronted wh-phrase and the elided structure as supporting evidence for their analysis. For example, Merchant (2001:89–107) points out that a language allows preposition stranding under sluicing if and only if it does so under regular wh-movement. This suggests that there is a close parallelism between sluicing and wh-movement in nonelliptical clauses. Hence, it seems plausible to assume that both start out from the same underlying structure.

The other approach to sluicing is represented in (2)b. In this structure, the entire IP is spelled out as a null, structureless proform. At LF this pro_{IP} is linked to its antecedent, either by copying in the antecedent-IP or via a strictly semantic or pragmatic interpretational mechanism (see note 3). Arguments in favor of this type of analysis often involve typically “pronominal” characteristics of elliptical constructions. For example, it is well known that pronouns such as *he* or *that* do not necessarily require an overt, linguistic antecedent. The fact that the same holds—under certain circumstances—for sluicing and VP-ellipsis is then seen as an indication that these constructions contain a proform as well.

It is this debate that I will take as a background for the rest of this book. In the following chapters, I lay out two case studies, each of which highlights a different aspect of the debate about *pro* versus PF-deletion. The general conclusion will be that the choice between these two theories is not a matter of either-or, and that both are needed to account for the full range of variation in elliptical constructions attested in natural language.

The empirical basis for this research comes from a number of hitherto undiscussed elliptical constructions in Dutch dialects. These data were collected during fieldwork that was part of the Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects (SAND) project, a four-year Flemish-Dutch research project that started in January 2000 and

involved the cooperation of the universities of Amsterdam, Leiden, Antwerp, and Ghent, the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam, and the Frisian Academy in Leeuwarden.[4] Given the sheer size of the project, though, as well as the large number of constructions that were investigated, the SAND questionnaires (both oral and written) provided only a starting point for the research presented here. Hence, I sent out a number of additional questionnaires to a smaller number of informants. In particular, figure 1.1 presents an overview of all the dialects that actively feature—though some more than others—in this book.[5]

In the surveys I sent out, the informants were asked to rate sentences on a scale of 1 to 5. These scores were converted into grammaticality judgments on the basis of the schema in (3).

(3) 1 → ok
2 → ?
3 → ??
4 → ?*
5 → *



FIGURE 1.1 Geographical overview of the dialects featured in this book

Whenever there is more than one informant for a single dialect, the judgment is equivalent to the average of the scores given by the individual speakers.[6] Accordingly, at several points in the discussion I will refer to the numerical value of the judgments, so as to give a more detailed impression of the informants' intuitions.

The attention devoted to syntactic microvariation in the SAND project is not an isolated case. Over the years, the syntactic study of nonstandard language varieties has come to occupy a prominent position in the generative research tradition.[7] From the point of view of parameter theory, this is not at all surprising. Given that dialects generally differ from one another in only a very limited number of respects, it should be more straightforward to identify the parameter responsible for the variation in such a case than when comparing, say, English to Japanese. Similarly, when two or more properties correlate across dialects, the odds of this being due to a single parameter are greater than in the case of macrovariation.[8] This issue will be present in the background throughout this book, and will be taken up again in detail in the concluding chapter, where I show that my findings provide support for Chomsky's (1995) hypothesis that all language variation can be reduced to the lexical and/or morphological properties of the languages in question.

The core of this book consists of two case studies. The first one concerns what I will call stranding under sluicing, that is, constructions whereby overt material occurs to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. The English construction exemplified in (4)b and the Wambeek Dutch one in (5) form the main empirical focus of this part.[9]

(4) a. Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know about what.
b. Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

(5) A:	Jef	ei	gisteren	iemand	gezien.	B:	Wou	da?
	Jeff	has	yesterday	someone	seen		who	that

'A: Jeff saw someone yesterday. B: Who?' [Wambeek Dutch]

In this first case study, I argue at length that instances of stranding under sluicing provide strong evidence in favor of a PF-deletion approach to ellipsis. The argumentation is built up as follows. Chapter 2 provides a general introduction to these constructions and sketches their theoretical relevance. In chapter 3, I explore both phenomena in more detail and list the basic properties an analysis should account for. Chapter 4 contains the theoretical background for the analysis. In this chapter, I introduce and discuss a particular incarnation of the split CP hypothesis. In chapter 5, I present my analysis and show how it can account for the data laid out in chapter 2. Chapter 6 is devoted to Frisian. I demonstrate that this language adds an extra layer to the discussion in that it allows the two constructions in (4)b and (5) to co-occur in one and the same example. An illustration of this is given in (6).

(6) A:	Jan	hat	juster	in	praatsje	holden.
	John	has	yesterday	a	talk	held
B:	Wêr	dat	oer?			
	where	$that_{DEM}$	about			

'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?' [Frisian]

In chapter 7, I discuss and evaluate previous analyses of these two phenomena, while in chapter 8 I briefly explore some other instances of stranding under sluicing. Chapter 9 concludes the first case study and highlights some of its theoretical consequences.

The second case study revolves around the construction exemplified in (7)B.

(7) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
   Mary sees Peter not gladly
   B: Jou ze duut.
   yes she does
   'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Here, the conclusion will be the opposite of the one reached in the first case study. In particular, I argue that B's reply in (7) contains a null, structureless pronominal rather than a full-fledged yet unpronounced syntactic structure. I proceed as follows. After a basic introduction in chapter 10, I outline the main properties of this construction in chapter 11. I demonstrate that it is substantially different from English VP-ellipsis and hence that it should be analyzed accordingly. Chapter 12 once again contains the theoretical background for the analysis. This time, I am concerned not only with the hierarchy of functional projections but also with devising a minimalist account for the licensing of null pronominals, and with the syntax of contradiction. Chapter 13 contains my account of the construction in (7), while in chapter 14 I present my analysis of the construction in (8)B.

(8) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
   Mary sees Peter not gladly
   B: Da's wel.
   that.is AFF
   'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

On the basis of a detailed comparison between B's replies in (7) and (8), I argue that the proform *da* 'that' in (8)B is the overt counterpart of the null pronominal that I postulate in the analysis of (7)B. Hence, these two constructions turn out to be closely related to one another on an abstract level of analysis. Finally, chapter 15 focuses on the construction exemplified in (9)B.

(9) A: Kom Marie mergen?
   comes Mary tomorrow
   B: Jui-s.
   yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
   'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

This dialogue illustrates that in certain Dutch dialects, polarity markers such as *yes* and *no* can be accompanied by subject clitics (and in some dialects also by

agreement suffixes). I argue that these conjugated instances of *yes* and *no* involve the PF-deletion of a syntactic structure containing a null pronominal. More specifically, I argue that the structure underlying B's reply in (9) is identical to that of B's reply in (7). This will lead to a unified analysis of these two phenomena.

In the final chapter, I return to the main research questions and suggest some prospects for further research.

PART I

FIRST CASE STUDY: STRANDING UNDER SLUICING AS PF-DELETION

This page intentionally left blank

2

Introduction

Stranding under Sluicing

In the following chapters, I focus on two subtypes of the construction commonly referred to as "sluicing" (a term dating back to Ross 1969). A representative example of a sluiced clause is (1).

(1) Ed invited someone, but I don't know who.

In this sentence, the interrogative, clausal complement of the verb *know* has been reduced to a mere wh-phrase. Recall from chapter 1 that I will focus on two prevalent analyses of this construction. They differ mainly in the amount of structure that is assigned to the unpronounced part of a sluiced clause. Consider the two schematic representations in (2) of the example in (1).

(2) a. Ed invited someone, but I don't know who pro_{IP}.
    b. Ed invited someone, but I don't know who ~~Ed invited t_{who}~~.

While in the analysis in (2)b the complement clause of *know* is a full-fledged syntactic structure the IP of which has been elided at PF (indicated here by means of strikethrough), in (2)a this IP has been pronominalized by a null, structureless non-DP proform (represented here as pro_{IP}).[1] In this first case study, I show that an in-depth syntactic analysis of the two constructions in (3) and (4) provides new evidence in favor of the account sketched in (2)b.

(3)	A:	Jef	ei	gisteren	iemand	gezien.	B:	Wou	da?
		Jeff	has	yesterday	someone	seen		who	that

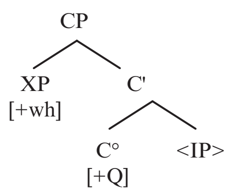
'A: Jeff saw someone yesterday. B: Who?' [Wambeek Dutch]

(4) Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

These examples represent instances of what I will call stranding under sluicing, that is, constructions whereby overt material occurs to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. In (3), the sluiced wh-phrase *wou* 'who' is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that', while in the English example in (4) the preposition *about* appears to have been stranded to the right of the sluiced wh-phrase *what*. In chapter 5, I show that both these constructions receive a natural account under the PF-deletion approach to sluicing; in chapter 9 I demonstrate that a *pro*-analysis of these data faces considerable difficulties. As such, the constructions in (3) and (4) will turn out to provide strong supporting evidence for the approach to sluicing sketched in (2)b.

Moreover, I will argue that the data in (3)–(4) can shed new light on the interaction between sluicing on the one hand and the structure of the CP-domain on the other. Traditionally, sluicing is assumed to delete (or pronominalize, depending on one's theory) the IP-complement of the C°-head the specifier of which is occupied by the sluiced wh-phrase (see for example Lobeck 1995, Merchant 2001). Consider the tree structure in (5).[2]

(5)



However, this abstract representation does not take into account the possibility that what is traditionally conceived of as a single projection, that is, CP, might represent a conglomerate of more than one functional projection (see especially Rizzi 1997a and much literature in its wake). Needless to say, this could complicate the analysis of sluicing considerably. For one, it opens up the possibility that overt material can be stranded in a C°-projection that is not contained in the ellipsis site. In the chapters that follow, I show that the two constructions in (3) and (4) represent precisely this scenario. They thus provide an ideal window on the interaction between the syntax of sluicing and the (split) CP-domain.

This first case study is organized as follows. In chapter 3, I present the basic data that form the empirical focus for the rest of the discussion. Chapter 4 presents the main background assumption for the analysis, that is, it makes explicit which particular view on the CP-domain I will be assuming. In chapter 5, I then give the analysis, and in chapter 6 I provide some extra evidence in support of this analysis. Chapter 7 introduces and discusses previous accounts of the phenomena presented here, while in chapter 8 I give a brief exploratory overview of some other instances of stranding under sluicing. Chapter 9 sums up and concludes, and points to the major theoretical implications of the data and analyses discussed in part I.

3

The Data

3.1 Spading and Swiping

As I have pointed out, there are two constructions I want to focus on in this part. The first one is manifested in a variety of Dutch dialects, and is exemplified in (1) and (2).

(1)	A: Jef	ei	gisteren	iemand	gezien.	B:	Wou	da?
	Jeff	has	yesterday	someone	seen		who	that

‘A: Jeff saw someone yesterday. B: Who?’ [Wambeek Dutch]

(2)	Jef	eid	iemand	gezien,	mo	ik	weet	nie	wou	da.
	Jeff	has	someone	seen	but	I	know	not	who	that

‘Jeff saw someone, but I don’t know who.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

In these examples, the sluiced wh-phrase *wou* ‘who’ is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *da* ‘that’. I will henceforth refer to this construction as spading, which is an acronym for Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative In Noninsular Germanic.[1]

The second instance of stranding under sluicing under investigation here is the construction Merchant (2002) has called ‘swiping,’ also an acronym—for Sluiced Wh-word Inversion with Prepositions In Northern Germanic. An example is given in (3).

(3) Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don’t know what about.

In (3), the normal order of preposition and wh-phrase (i.e. the former precedes the latter: *about what*) is reversed. As a result, the preposition appears to have been stranded to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase.[2]

In the next two sections, I explore each of these two constructions in more detail, pointing out the basic properties that an analysis of these phenomena should be able to account for. Section 3.4 summarizes the data.

3.2 Basic Properties of Spading in Dutch Dialects

Before I proceed to list the basic properties of spading in Dutch dialects, a general note on the data and the style of presentation is in order. The data presented in this chapter have been systematically checked for the dialects of Wambeek (in the Belgian province of Flemish Brabant), Nieuwkerken-Waas (in the Belgian province of East Flanders), Waubach (in the Dutch province of Limburg), and for what I will call Brabant Dutch, a nonstandard variety of Dutch spoken in large parts of the Belgian province of Flemish Brabant. Moreover, none of the data I have seen from the spading dialects investigated in the context of the SAND project conflicts with the generalizations presented here in any way.[3] For expository purposes and reasons of consistency, however, the examples of spading I discuss will all be from the same dialect (that of Wambeek), unless the structure of the argument forces me to do otherwise (e.g. because another dialect shows more morphological distinctions than that of Wambeek). With this note in mind, I now turn to the actual data and introduce the six basic properties of spading.

3.2.1 Spading Contains a Demonstrative Pronoun, Not a Complementizer

Reconsider the basic spading example given in (2), repeated here as (4).

(4) Jef eid iemand gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
Jeff has someone seen but I know not who that
'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Just as in English, the element *da* 'that' in Wambeek Dutch is homophonous between the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun and the declarative complementizer.[4] If it were the latter, an example such as the one in (4) would represent a doubly filled COMP filter violation under sluicing. This would be an unexpected state of affairs, as Merchant (2001:74–82) shows that cross-linguistically (and for as yet ill-understood reasons, but see Baltin 2006 for a possible approach), the C°-position to the immediate right of a sluiced wh-phrase always remains empty, even in those languages that allow doubly filled COMP filter violations in nonelliptical embedded wh-questions (as the dialect of Wambeek does). Moreover, as the example in (5) (same as (1)) shows, spading is also allowed in matrix sluices. If *da* were a complementizer in this example, it would represent a case where the complementizer shows up in a matrix question, a constellation otherwise unattested in Wambeek Dutch.

(5) A: Jef ei gisteren iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
Jeff has yesterday someone seen who that
'A: Jeff saw someone yesterday. B: Who?' [Wambeek Dutch]

In short, while an analysis of *da* 'that' as a complementizer might seem appealing at first sight, it raises more problems than it solves. What I want to argue instead is that *da* is a full-fledged demonstrative pronoun. Supporting evidence for this claim comes from those dialects that morphologically distinguish between the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun and the complementizer used in doubly filled COMP contexts. More specifically, there are a number of dialects in which the two are not (or not necessarily) homophonous. As such, they provide an ideal testing ground for the categorial status of this element.

A first group of dialects that is relevant here concerns those in which the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun apart from its default form *da(t)* also has an emphatic form usually spelled *dadde* or *datte*. As is illustrated in (6)a, the dialect of Wambeek is one of them. Moreover, (6)b shows that this emphatic form is never used as a complementizer in doubly filled COMP contexts. However, it does show up in spading (see (6)c), a clear indication that spading contains a demonstrative pronoun, rather than a complementizer.[5]

(6) a. Zegge-men dadde?
say-we that$_{\text{EMPH}}$
'Do we say that?'

b. Zeg ne kieje wou { da / * dadde } se kunne rupen eit.
say a time who that$_{\text{COMP}}$ / that$_{\text{EMPH}}$ she could call has
'Tell me who she was able to call.'

c. Wou dadde?
who that$_{\text{EMPH}}$
'Who?'
[Wambeek Dutch]

Second, there are dialects in which the complementizer used in doubly filled COMP contexts has a specific form that diverges from that of the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun. This is illustrated in (7)a–b for the dialect of Nijeholtpade. The form of the complementizer used in embedded wh-questions (see (7)b) is not *dat* (like the demonstrative pronoun, see (7)a) but *as*. If spading were really an instance of doubly filled COMP under sluicing, one would expect this form to show up there as well. As (7)c shows, however, this is not the case.

(7) a. Zo'k dat wel doen kunnen?
would.I that$_{\text{DEM}}$ PRT do can
'Would I be able to do that?'

b. Wet iene wie as we reupen hebben?
knows anyone who that$_{\text{COMP}}$ we called have
'Does anyone know who we have called?'

c. Wie { dat /*as}?
who that$_{\text{DEM}}$ / that$_{\text{COMP}}$
'Who?'
[Nijeholtpade Dutch]

Third, a small minority of the dialects under consideration here disallows a wh-phrase to co-occur with a complementizer in embedded wh-questions; that is, they respect the doubly filled COMP filter. An analysis of spading as doubly filled COMP filter violations under sluicing would predict such dialects to disallow spading. The data in (8)b–c show this prediction to be false. Moreover, these dialects do display the demonstrative use of *da(t),* as illustrated in (8)a. As such, they constitute yet another indication that the element following the sluiced wh-phrase in spading is a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer.

(8) a. Niemand heet dat ooit gewild.
nobody has that$_{DEM}$ ever wanted
'Nobody ever wanted that.'

b. Vertelt maar ni wie (*dat) zij haa kunne roepe.
tell$_{IMP}$ PRT not who that$_{COMP}$ she has can call
'Don't say who she was able to call.'

c. Wie dat?
who that
'Who?' [Lauw Dutch]

Summing up, it is clear that the *da(t)*-element following the sluiced wh-phrase in spading is the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun, and not a complementizer. Put differently, spading does not represent doubly filled COMP filter violations under sluicing. Accordingly (and to avoid confusion), I will henceforth gloss the demonstrative use of *da(t)* as 'that$_{DEM}$' and its complementizer use as 'that$_{C°}$'.

3.2.2 Spading Only Occurs in Sluicing

The second property of spading I want to discuss is already encoded in the acronym (Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative In Noninsular Germanic), but it is a point worth emphasizing, as it will play an important role in the analysis. As the data in (9) show, only sluiced wh-phrases like in (9)a–b can be followed by a demonstrative pronoun. Wh-phrases occurring in nonelliptical wh-questions (whether main (9)c, embedded (9)d, in situ (9)e or echo (9)f), relative clauses (whether headed (9)g or free (9)h), or clefts (whether *it*-clefts (9)i or pseudoclefts (9)j), cannot be directly followed by a demonstrative pronoun.

(9) a. Jef eid iemand gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
Jeff has someone seen but I know not who that$_{DEM}$
'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'

b. A: Jef ei gisteren iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
Jeff has yesterday someone seen who that$_{DEM}$
'A: Jeff saw someone yesterday. B: Who?'

c. Uu (*dad) ei Jef tprobleem opgelost?
how that$_{DEM}$ has Jeff the.problem solved
'How did Jeff solve the problem?'

d. Ik vruig ma af me wou (*da) da Lewie geklapt eit.[6]
I ask me PRT with who that$_{\text{DEM}}$ that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$ Louis talked has
'I wonder who Louis has talked to.'

e. Wou stond me wou (*da) te klappen?
who stood with who that$_{\text{DEM}}$ to talk
'Who was talking to who?'

f. A: K'em de paus gezien. B: G'etj WOU (*DA) gezien?!
I.have the pope seen you.have who that$_{\text{DEM}}$ seen
'A: I saw the pope. B: You saw WHO?!'

g. Ge kraaigd alles wa (*da) da ge wiltj.
you get everything what that$_{\text{DEM}}$ that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$ you want
'You get anything you want.'

h. Wa (*da) da Lewie duut interessee ma nie.
what that$_{\text{DEM}}$ that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$ Louis does interests me not
'I'm not interested in what Louis does.'

i. Et was Jef wuiruin (*da) dad iederiejn pausdn.
it was Jeff where.on that$_{\text{DEM}}$ that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$ everybody thought
'It was Jeff everyone was thinking of.'

j. Wa (*da) da Jef geirn duut is zwemmen.
what that$_{\text{DEM}}$ that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$ Jeff gladly does is swim$_{\text{INF}}$
'What Jeff likes to do is to swim.' [Wambeek Dutch]

3.2.3 Spading Only Targets Minimal Wh-Phrases

The third basic property of spading was first observed for Frisian by Hoekstra (1993:9–11), but it also holds for the dialects under consideration here. It concerns the fact that not all types of sluiced wh-phrases can be followed by a demonstrative pronoun. More specifically, only bare wh-pronouns or PPs containing them can partake in spading. Complex wh-phrases cannot. This is illustrated in (10).[7]

(10) a. Wui da?
where that$_{\text{DEM}}$
'Where?'

b. Tege wou da?
against whom that$_{\text{DEM}}$
'Against whom?'

c. *Welken boek da?
which book that$_{\text{DEM}}$ [Wambeek Dutch]

That this property is indeed characteristic of spading and not due to some more general restriction on sluicing in these dialects is illustrated by the data in (11). These examples show that in "regular" sluicing, all types of wh-phrases are allowed.

(11) a. Wui?
where
'Where?'

b. Tege wou?
against whom
'Against whom?'

c. Welken boek?
which book
'Which book?' [Wambeek Dutch]

3.2.4 The Demonstrative Pronoun in Spading Bears Stress

A sluiced wh-phrase normally bears stress in the dialects under consideration here. This is illustrated in (12)a. In spading, however, the stress shifts: it is no longer the wh-phrase but rather the demonstrative pronoun that bears stress. This is shown in (12)b.[8]

(12) a. Z'eid iemand gezien, mo kweet nie { WOU/ *wou}.
she.has someone seen but I.know not who / who
'She saw someone, but I don't know who.'

b. Z'eid iemand gezien,
she.has someone seen
mo kweet nie { wou DA / *WOU da}.
but I.know not who $that_{DEM}$ / who $that_{DEM}$
'She saw someone, but I don't know who.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The stress shift illustrated in (12)a–b is not the result of some principle blindly assigning stress to the rightmost element in a sluiced clause. This can be demonstrated by means of the example in (13), where the modifier *just* 'exactly' has been stranded to the right of the demonstrative pronoun. In this example, it is still the latter that receives the main stress, regardless of whether the modifier follows it (see chapter 8 for some discussion of this type of example).

(13) Z'eid iemand gezien,
she.has someone seen
mo kweet nie { wou DA just / *wou da JUST}.
but I.know not who $that_{DEM}$ exactly / who $that_{DEM}$ exactly
'She saw someone, but I don't know who exactly.' [Wambeek Dutch]

3.2.5 Spading Induces a Surprise-Reading

The meaning of spading overlaps to a very large extent with that of regular sluices. At the same time, however, the presence of a demonstrative pronoun to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase does add a meaning layer that is absent if the demonstrative is lacking. Consider the dialogue in (14).

(14)

A: Jef	eid	iemand	gezien.	B:	Wou	da?
Jeff	has	someone	seen		who	$that_{DEM}$

'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?' [Wambeek Dutch]

By using spading, B is indicating that A's original statement (i.e., Jeff saw someone) came as a surprise to him. The B-speaker didn't expect Jeff to have seen someone (for example, because B knew that Jeff stayed home alone all day). Thus, the use of spading induces a surprise-reading on the sluiced question.[9] This reading can be brought out more clearly by forcing a nonsurprise-reading on the example sentence. The highly conventionalized context of game shows provides the perfect setting for obtaining this effect. Imagine the sentence in (15) being uttered by a game show host.

(15)

Juul	Ceesaar	is	dee	Marcus	Brutus	en	Gaius	Cassius	vermoed,	en
Julius	Caesar	is	by	Marcus	Brutus	and	Gaius	Cassius	murdered	and

de	vruig	is:	wannieje	(#da)?
the	question	is	when	$that_{DEM}$

'Julius Caesar was murdered by Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius, and the question is: when?' [Wambeek Dutch]

Clearly, in this context the first sentence of (15) (i.e., Julius Caesar was murdered by Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius) is not considered to be unexpected. On the contrary, it is presented as a known fact, both to the hearer and to the speaker. Accordingly, the use of spading in this context is strongly infelicitous.

3.2.6 Spading Stems from an Underlying Cleft

The sixth and final characteristic of spading is also the most intricate one. I will show that there is a close affinity between spading on the one hand and cleft structures with a wh-pivot on the other. More specifically, the data point to the conclusion that a spading example such as B's reply in (16)a derives not from the wh-question in (16)b, but rather from the cleft in (16)c.[10]

(16) a.

A: Ik	em	iemand	gezien.	B:	Wou	da?
I	have	someone	seen		who	$that_{DEM}$

'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'

b.

Wou	ejje	gezien?
who	have.you	seen

'Who did you see?'

c.

Wou	is	da	da	ge	gezien	etj?
who	is	$that_{DEM}$	$that_{C°}$	you	seen	have

'Who is it that you saw?' [Wambeek Dutch]

Before I can proceed to demonstrate this, an important terminological remark is in order. The dialects under consideration here have two ways of forming a cleft, the

difference between the two options being related to the pronoun that occupies the matrix subject position. Specifically, this pronoun can be either the third person singular neuter personal pronoun *het* 'it' (usually shortened to *'t*) or the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun *da(t)* 'that'.[11] Both options are exemplified in (17).

(17)	a.	Wou	is	da	da	ge	gezien	etj?
		who	is	that$_{\text{DEM}}$	that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$	you	seen	have
		'Who is it that you saw?'						
	b.	Wou	is	't	da	ge	gezien	etj?
		who	is	it	that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$	you	seen	have
		'Who is it that you saw?'						[Wambeek Dutch]

The specific claim I want to make here is that spading derives from an underlying cleft with a wh-phrase as pivot and with a demonstrative pronoun in the matrix clause. For the remainder of this section, I abstract away from the difference illustrated in (17), but I return to the two types of clefts in chapter 5 (section 5.2.4).[12]

Having set the scene for what will follow, I now present six arguments to support the claim made above. All six of them have the same logical structure: I first identify a particular empirical domain that differentiates clefts with a wh-pivot from "regular" sluicing, and I then proceed to show that spading patterns with clefts and not with sluicing.

3.2.6.1 Case

The first argument concerns the Case of the sluiced wh-phrase in spading. For obvious reasons, this can only be demonstrated for those dialects that overtly mark morphological Case on wh-pronouns. As the data in (18) show, the dialect of Waubach is one of them. (See Hinskens 1993:sec. 6.3.19 for a more elaborate discussion of the Waubach case system.)

(18)	a.	{ Wea / *Wem }	kemp	noa	't	fees?	
		who$_{\text{NOM}}$ / who$_{\text{ACC}}$	comes	to	the	party	
		'Who is coming to the party?'					
	b.	{ *Wea / Wem }	has-te	gezieë?			
		who$_{\text{NOM}}$ / who$_{\text{ACC}}$	have.you	seen			
		'Who did you see?'					[Waubach Dutch]

The sentences in (18) show that subject wh-questions only allow the nominative form of the wh-pronoun, that is, *wea*, whereas object wh-questions contain the accusative form, that is, *wem*. Moreover, the sluiced versions of the wh-questions in (18) display the same Case distinctions. This is exemplified in (19).

(19)	a.	A:	't	Kumt	murrege	inne	noa	't	fees.
			it	comes	tomorrow	someone	to	the	party

B: { Wea / * Wem}?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$
'A: Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. B: Who?'

b. A: Ich han inne gezieë. B: { * Wea / Wem}?
I have someone seen who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$
'A: I saw someone. B: Who?' [Waubach Dutch]

However, the Case difference between subjects and objects disappears in clefts with a wh-pivot. As the examples in (20) illustrate, both subject and object clefts use the nominative form of the wh-pronoun.

(20) a. { Wea / * Wem } is dat dea noa 't fees kemp?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ is that$_{DEM}$ REL to the party comes
'Who is it that is coming to the party?'

b. { Wea / * Wem } is dat dea-s-te gezieë has?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ is that$_{DEM}$ REL-CA-you seen have
'Who is it that you saw?' [Waubach Dutch]

This means that the Waubach Case facts form an ideal testing ground for the hypothesis entertained in this section. If spading really derives from an underlying cleft, the Case of the wh-pronoun should pattern with the data in (20), and unlike the data in (19). The examples in (21) show that this is indeed the case.

(21) a. A: 't Kumt murrege inne noa 't fees.
it comes tomorrow someone to the party
B: { Wea / * Wem } dat?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ that$_{DEM}$
'A: Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. B: Who?'

b. A: Ich han inne gezieë.
I have someone seen
B: { Wea / * Wem} dat?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ that$_{DEM}$
'A: I saw someone. B: Who?' [Waubach Dutch]

B's reply in (21)b is the crucial datum here. It shows that object spading patterns with object clefts and unlike "regular" object sluices, in displaying the nominative rather than the accusative form of the wh-pronoun. This is a clear indication that spading stems from an underlying cleft, not from a regular wh-question.

3.2.6.2 Modification of the Wh-Phrase by Negation and Affirmation

Sluiced wh-phrases can be modified by *nie* 'not' or *wel* 'AFF'[13] in the dialects under consideration here (as in standard Dutch, but unlike in English). This is illustrated in (22)–(23).

(22) A: Lewie ei me bekan iederiejn geklapt. B: Me wou nie?
Louis has with almost everyone spoken with who not
'A: Louis has spoken with almost everyone. B: With whom didn't he speak?'
[Wambeek Dutch]

(23) A: Lewie ei me bekan niemand geklapt. B: Me wou wel?
Louis has with almost nobody spoken with who AFF
'A: Louis has spoken with almost no-one. B: With whom DID he speak?'
[Wambeek Dutch]

Such modification is sharply ungrammatical in clefts with a wh-pivot, regardless of whether the polarity element is pied-piped or not. This is shown in (24)–(25).[14]

(24) Me wou <*nie> was da <*nie> da Lewie geklapt ou?
with who not was that$_{DEM}$ not that$_{C^\circ}$ Louis spoken had
[Wambeek Dutch]

(25) Me wou <*wel> was da <*wel> da Lewie geklapt ou?
with who AFF was that$_{DEM}$ AFF that$_{C^\circ}$ Louis spoken had
[Wambeek Dutch]

Once again, spading patterns with clefts and unlike sluicing. A spaded wh-phrase cannot be modified by negation or affirmation, irrespective of whether the demonstrative pronoun precedes or follows the modifying element.

(26) A: Lewie ei me bekan iederiejn geklapt.
Louis has with almost everyone spoken
B: * Me wou <nie> da <nie>?
with who not that$_{DEM}$ not
[Wambeek Dutch]

(27) A: Lewie ei me bekan niemand geklapt.
Louis has with almost nobody spoken
B: * Me wou <wel> da <wel>?
with who AFF that$_{DEM}$ AFF
[Wambeek Dutch]

3.2.6.3 Multiple Wh

As is well known, many languages (including nonmultiple wh-movement languages) allow the remnant of a single sluicing operation to consist of more than one wh-phrase (though sometimes only under certain restricted circumstances; see Lasnik 2006, Merchant 2001:109–114, Nishigauchi 1998 for discussion). The spading dialects also display this so-called multiple sluicing.

(28) Iederiejn stond me iemand te klappen, mo kweet nie wou me wou.
everyone stood with someone to talk but I.know not who with who
'Everyone was talking to someone, but I don't know who to whom.'
[Wambeek Dutch]

Clefts with a (nonecho) wh-phrase as their pivot, however, do not allow the occurrence of more than one wh-phrase. This is illustrated in (29):

(29) * Wou was da da me wou stond te klappen?
who was that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ with who stood to talk [Wambeek Dutch]

Similarly, spading also disallows multiple wh-phrases, regardless of whether only one of them is followed by a demonstrative pronoun or whether both are.

(30) Iederiejn stond me iemand te klappen,
everyone stood with someone to talk
mo kweet nie wou (*da) me wou (*da).
but I.know not who that$_{DEM}$ with who that$_{DEM}$ [Wambeek Dutch]

3.2.6.4 Nonovert Antecedent

Sluicing can in some cases be licensed by a nonovert antecedent (i.e. it can be “pragmatically controlled,” in Hankamer and Sag’s 1976 terminology).[15] This is illustrated for the dialect of Wambeek in (31).

(31) [Context: a contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise; she is given five minutes to think about the issue, after which the game show host walks up to her holding a picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand; he says:]
Wou?
who
‘Who?’ [Wambeek Dutch]

Clefts with a wh-pivot pattern differently in this respect. As the example in (32) shows, a cleft requires an explicit linguistic antecedent and hence is infelicitous in a context where there is no such antecedent.[16]

(32) [Context: same as in (31)]
Wou is da da ge gotj kiezn?
who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ you go choose.
‘Who is it that you will choose?’ [Wambeek Dutch]

Again, spading patterns with clefts, and not with sluicing. In the context sketched in example (31), spading is as infelicitous as a cleft with a wh-pivot. This is shown in (33).

(33) [context: same as in (31)]
Wou da?
who that$_{DEM}$
‘Who?’ [Wambeek Dutch]

3.2.6.5 Modification of the Wh-Phrase by Nog *'Else'*

Sluiced wh-phrases can be modified by *nog* 'else'. An example is (34).

(34) A: Jef ei nie alliejn Lewie gezien. B: Nieje? Wou nog?
Jeff has not just Louis seen no who else
'A: Jeff hasn't just seen Louis. B: No? Who else (has he seen)?' [Wambeek Dutch]

Wh-phrases that form the pivot of a cleft cannot be modified in this way. This is true regardless of whether *nog* 'else' is pied-piped or not.

(35) * Wou <nog> was da <nog> da Jef gezien ou?
who else was that$_{\text{DEM}}$ else that$_{C^\circ}$ Jeff seen had
[Wambeek Dutch]

Here, too, spading patterns with clefts in not allowing the modifier *nog* 'else', irrespective of its linear position vis-à-vis the demonstrative pronoun.

(36) A: Jef ei nie alliejn Lewie gezien.
Jeff has not just Louis seen
B: * Nieje? Wou <nog> da <nog>?
no who else that$_{\text{DEM}}$ else [Wambeek Dutch]

3.2.6.6 Exhaustivity

Sluiced wh-phrases—just like their counterparts in nonelliptical wh-questions—are not necessarily interpreted exhaustively. For example, they can be modified by an adverbial phrase such as *onder andere* 'among others', which signals explicitly that the speaker is not expecting an exhaustive answer to his or her question.[17] This is illustrated in (37).

(37) A: 'k Em e puir van a kammeruite gezien.
I have a couple of your friends seen
B: Wou onder andere?
who among others
'A: I saw a couple of your friends. B: Who among others?' [Wambeek Dutch]

As is well known, clefts pattern differently in this respect. They are incompatible with a nonexhaustive reply and hence cannot be combined with *onder andere* 'among others', regardless of whether it is pied-piped by the wh-phrase or not. This is shown in (38).[18]

(38) * Wou <onder andere> is dad <onder andere> dat ge gezien etj?
who among others is that$_{\text{DEM}}$ among others that$_{C^\circ}$ you seen have
[Wambeek Dutch]

TABLE 3.1. Comparison of sluicing, spading, and clefts with a wh-pivot

	Sluicing	*Spading*	*Clefts*
Case of wh_{object}	acc	nom	nom
Modification by NEG and AFF	✓	*	*
Multiple wh	✓	*	*
Nonovert antecedent	✓	#	#
Modification by *nog* 'else'	✓	*	*
Exhaustivity requirement	No	Yes	Yes

Once again, spading patterns with clefts and not with regular sluicing. As is illustrated in (39), a spaded wh-phrase is incompatible with the modifier *onder andere* 'among others', regardless of whether it follows or precedes the demonstrative pronoun.

(39) A: 'k Em e puir van a kammeruite gezien.
I have a couple of your friends seen

B: * Wou < onder andere> dad < onder andere>?
who among others $that_{DEM}$ among others [Wambeek Dutch]

3.2.6.7 Summary

Summing up, I have presented six empirical arguments to support the claim that spading derives from clefts with a wh-pivot and not from "regular" wh-questions.[19] Table 3.1 summarizes the main findings of the preceding sections.

This concludes my overview of the basic properties of spading in Dutch dialects. They can be summarized as in (40).

(40) Basic properties of dialect Dutch spading:
a. Spading contains a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer.
b. Spading only occurs in sluicing.
c. Spading only targets minimal wh-phrases.
d. The demonstrative pronoun in spading bears stress.
e. Spading induces a surprise-reading.
f. Spading stems from an underlying cleft.

In the next section, I focus on the other instance of stranding under sluicing that forms the central focus of this case study, that is, swiping.

3.3 Basic Properties of English Swiping

As already mentioned in section 3.1, swiping has been discussed fairly recently in an article by Jason Merchant (2002), so I can be brief in my overview of the basic properties of this construction. Most of the data presented in the following sections

are taken from Merchant's article (although some of the core observations date back to Rosen 1976). All in all, I will focus on four basic properties of this construction.

3.3.1 Swiping Only Occurs in Sluicing

As the data in (41) show, only sluiced wh-phrases like in (41)a–b can be "locally inverted" with their prepositions. Swiping does not affect wh-phrases occurring in nonelliptical wh-questions (whether main (41)c, embedded (41)d, in situ (41)e, or echo (41)f), relative clauses (whether headed finite (41)g, headed infinitival (41)h, or free (41)i), or clefts (whether *it*-clefts (41)j or pseudoclefts (41)k) (see Merchant 2002:297–298, who calls this the "sluicing condition").

(41) a. Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know [what about].
b. A: Ed gave a talk yesterday. B: [What about]?
c. *[Who to] was Lois talking?
d. *I don't know [who to] Lois was talking.
e. *Who talked [who to]?
f. A: The pope talked about Britney Spears today.
B: * He talked [WHO ABOUT]?
g. *I finally met the guy [who about] she won't shut up.
h. *The officer [who to] to make such complaints is out of the office today.
i. *I always hate [who with] he goes out.
j. *It was Thomas Mann [who about] she was speaking.
k. *[What about] she was talking was *Buddenbrooks*.

3.3.2 Swiping Only Targets Minimal Wh-Phrases

The set of wh-phrases occurring in swiping is considerably smaller than the set of wh-phrases allowed in "regular" sluicing. Only bare wh-pronouns can undergo swiping; complex wh-phrases are systematically excluded. This is exemplified in (42) (see Merchant 2002:294–297 for additional examples).[20]

(42) a. Lois was talking, but I don't know who to.
b. *Lois was talking, but I don't know which person to.

3.3.3 A Swiped Preposition Bears Stress

Sluiced wh-phrases in English normally bear stress. This is true regardless of whether they are the complement of a preposition ((43)b) or not ((43)a). In swiping, however, the stress shifts to the preposition. This is illustrated in (43)c.

(43) a. Ed invited someone, but I don't know {WHO/*who}.
b. Ben was talking, but I don't know {to WHOM/* TO whom}.
c. Ben was talking, but I don't know {* WHO to/who TO}.

The stress shift in (43)b–c is not the result of some principle blindly assigning stress to the rightmost element in a sluiced clause. This can be illustrated on the basis of examples such as (44). In this sentence, the modifying adverb *exactly* has been stranded to the right of the swiped preposition. Nonetheless, the stress facts remain unaltered: it is still the preposition, and not the adverb, that receives the main stress.

(44) A: Ed will give a talk tomorrow.
B: a. Really? What ABOUT exactly?
b. * Really? What about EXACTLY?

Similarly, when swiping targets the first remnant of a sentence involving so-called multiple sluicing (see earlier), the stress stays on the preposition, even though it is not final in the sluiced clause.[21]

(45) ?Ed was talking with someone about something, but I don't know who WITH about what.

3.3.4 Swiping Only Affects Prepositions That Have No Antecedent

The fourth main property of swiping was first observed by Rosen (1976), who phrased it as follows: "A stranded preposition survives Sluicing in exactly those cases where there is no antecedent for its deletion" (206). This means that swiping is only felicitous when the antecedent IP does not contain an instance of the swiped preposition. This is the case in (46), for example (Rosen 1976:207).

(46) Howard shares the apartment, but I have no idea who with.

In this example, the clause that serves as the antecedent for sluicing (i.e. *Howard shares the apartment*) does not contain an instance of the preposition *with*. As a result, swiping is allowed. As it stands, however, Rosen's claim is too strong (as she herself already observed). This is shown by the example in (47), which, though more marked than (46), is still acceptable.[22]

(47) Howard shares the apartment with someone, but I have no idea who with.

In this example, the first clause, which serves as the antecedent for sluicing, does contain an instance of the swiped preposition (i.e. it contains the PP *with someone*), yet swiping is still allowed. Merchant (2002:306) proposes an ingenious way of reconciling Rosen's original claim with the data in (47). Assuming that in (examples like) (47) the adjunct PP adjoins to the VP, and assuming that it is the lower VP-segment that serves as an antecedent for sluicing, Rosen's claim can be upheld, as the antecedent for sluicing does not contain an instance of the swiped preposition. Merchant's analysis is given in (48), where VP_A represents the antecedent for the sluiced clause (which is itself marked by means of strikethrough).

(48) Howard [$_{VP}$ [$_{VPA}$ t_{Howard} shares the apartment] with someone], but I have no idea who with ~~Howard shares the apartment.~~

This predicts that if for some reason the PP cannot be left out of the sluicing antecedent, swiping should be impossible for all speakers. This prediction is confirmed by the data in (49) (Merchant 2002:305, Rosen 1976:207–208)

(49) a. We were with somebody. I forget who (*with).
b. She got involved in something over her head, but I don't remember what (*in).

These examples represent cases where a PP cannot be left out of the antecedent for sluicing: in the a-sentence it is part of the predicate; in (49)b it forms part of an idiom chunk. In both these cases, swiping is disallowed. That means that Rosen's original observation, once properly modified, gives an accurate description of the distribution of swiping in English.

3.4 Data Summary

In the preceding sections, I have examined dialect Dutch spading and English swiping in some detail. In this final section, I summarize the main findings of these explorations, so as to set the research agenda for the chapters that follow. The main properties of spading and swiping are listed in (50) and (51), respectively.

(50) Basic properties of dialect Dutch spading:
a. Spading contains a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer.
b. Spading only occurs in sluicing.
c. Spading only targets minimal wh-phrases,
d. The demonstrative pronoun in spading bears stress,
e. Spading induces a surprise-reading,
f. Spading stems from an underlying cleft,

(51) Basic properties of English swiping:
a. Swiping only occurs in sluicing.
b. Swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases.
c. A swiped preposition bears stress.
d. Swiping only affects prepositions that have no antecedent.

The properties in (50)–(51) are more than mere lists of explananda that analyses of spading/swiping should be able to account for. The striking similarity between (50)b, (50)c, and (50)d on the one hand and (51)a, (51)b, and (51)c on the other seems to suggest that the two phenomena are subject to the same underlying generalization and that they should be given a (partially) unified account. This is what I will attempt to do in the chapters that follow.

Rather than go straight to the analysis, however, the next chapter introduces and discusses an important background assumption. I present a particular view on the CP-domain that will be crucial for the analysis of both spading and swiping.

4

Theoretical Background: Splitting Up CP

4.1 Cartography versus CP-recursion

In the wake of Pollock's influential article on splitting up the inflectional projection IP into several separate functional projections (Pollock 1989; see also chapter 12 here), much of the literature on the CP-layer from the early 1990s onward has focused on arguing that what was traditionally conceived of as CP actually constitutes a conglomerate of functional projections. Roughly (and somewhat metaphorically speaking), one can discern two schools of thought in the literature on this topic. The first one—say the cartographic school—assumes the various CPs to be contentful and noninterchangeable. Each projection makes its own specific semantic and syntactic contribution to the clause. The greatest advocate of this school is without doubt Luigi Rizzi (see Rizzi 1997a, 2001, 2004), but many other researchers have followed in his footsteps (see for example Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Poletto 2000, Poletto and Pollock 2002, Zanuttini and Portner 2003). The second one—call it the CP-recursion or CP-shells school—takes the various CPs to be mere copies of one another, arising through a free mechanism of CP-recursion. They are seen as mostly contentless projections whose main purpose is to provide a landing site for various left-peripheral phrases and heads. Much of the empirical focus of this school is on Germanic embedded verb movement, and some key publications are Iatridou and Kroch (1992), Vikner (1995), and Browning (1996). I will present my own view of the CP-domain against this background.

The specific proposal I will make in the following sections belongs in spirit to the cartographic school, in that each projection I will propose makes a very specific syntactic and semantic contribution to the clause, and as a result they are not interchangeable. I diverge from much of the literature in this school, though, by

discussing only two different CP-related projections.[1] This is not because I believe these are the only two CP-projections that are available but because for my purposes here, they are the only two that are crucial. Whether or not my proposal can be incorporated into accounts that assume a much richer structure of the CP-domain I will leave as an open question (although I will point to some literature that seems to suggest that it can).

In the next section, I present the proposal in its bare essentials, indicating which projections I want to propose and the precise function and purpose of each. At the same time, I point to a number of existing accounts that share certain similarities with mine. Section 4.3 provides substantial empirical support for the proposal. Section 4.4 discusses two remaining issues left open by my account; although I will not be able to provide definitive answers to either of them, I will point at some possible solutions. Section 4.5 concludes.

4.2 The Proposal

As a starting point, I adopt and adapt a proposal put forward by Hoekstra and Zwart (1994, 1997) and Bennis (1997, 2000). They argue that the CP-domain should be split up (at least in Dutch) into two separate functional projections. In support of their proposal, they put forth what is still one of the more convincing types of evidence for postulating more than one functional projection: the overt morphological presence of more than one functional head. In particular, they argue that the higher CP (labeled WhP by Hoekstra and Zwart and TypP by Bennis) is headed by the complementizer *of* 'if', while the lower one (TopP for Hoekstra and Zwart and SubP for Bennis) is headed by *dat* 'that'. The fact that these two elements can co-occur (both in embedded yes/no-questions (see (1)a) and in embedded wh-questions (see (1)b) is a clear indication that they do not head the same projection (and see Hoekstra 1993a, 1993b, Hoekstra and Zwart 1994, 1997, and section 4.3.1 here for more arguments that *of dat* 'if that' is not one single (morphologically complex) head).

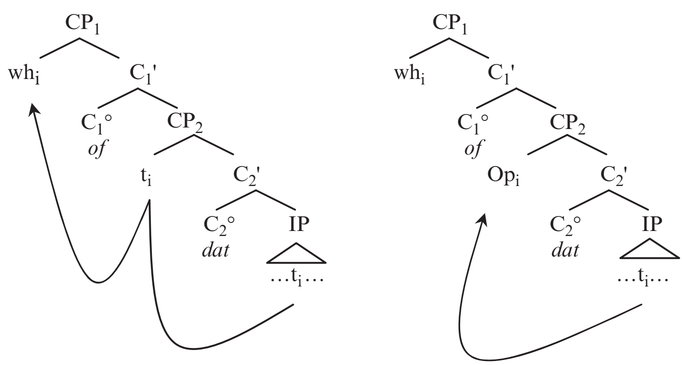
(1) a. Ik weet niet [$_{\text{CP1}}$ [$_{\text{C°1}}$ of] [$_{\text{CP2}}$ [$_{\text{C°2}}$ dat] [$_{\text{IP}}$ Jan gaat komen.]]]
I know not if that John goes come
'I don't know if John will come.'

b. Ik vraag me af [$_{\text{CP1}}$ wie [$_{\text{C°1}}$ of] [$_{\text{CP2}}$ [$_{\text{C°2}}$ dat] [$_{\text{IP}}$ je zoekt.]]]
I ask me PRT who if that you look.for
'I wonder who you are looking for.' [colloquial standard Dutch]

However, I diverge from the proposals made by Hoekstra and Zwart and Bennis when it comes to the precise function and content of these two CPs—or, to put it more technically, when it comes to the morphosyntactic features that are being checked in these projections. I propose that the lower CP (which I will continue to label CP_2) is the projection where operator/variable-dependencies are created (i.e. where operator features are checked), while CP_1 is the projection related to clause

typing (in the sense of Cheng 1991). Moreover, I will argue that this distinction has far-reaching consequences for the syntax of wh-movement, in that it causes minimal and complex wh-phrases to behave differently.[2] While minimal wh-phrases move from their IP-internal base position via specCP$_2$ (where they check an operator feature) on to specCP$_1$ (where they check a clause typing feature), complex wh-phrases are base-generated in specCP$_1$ (and check a clause typing feature there), and an empty operator moves from the IP-internal base position into specCP$_2$ (to check the operator feature and create an operator/variable-dependency). The tree structures in (2) illustrate the basics of the proposal.

(2) a. **minimal wh** b. **complex wh**



Although the specifics of this proposal are new, several aspects of it bear some resemblance to existing split CP accounts. First of all, the particular division of labor between CP$_1$ and CP$_2$ is reminiscent of what is probably one of the earliest proposals for splitting up CP, that is, Reinhart (1981). She argues that there are two positions in COMP: the higher one can only be targeted by wh-phrases, whereas the lower one is a more general COMP-position, which can serve as a landing site both for wh-phrases and for relative clause operators. Given that both relative clauses and wh-questions involve operator/variable-dependencies, Reinhart's proposal at an abstract level looks much like mine: the higher left peripheral position is related to clause typing, and the lower one to establishing operator/variable-dependencies.[3] Second, the idea that wh-phrases can be base-generated in the left periphery can already be found in the literature on Irish (see in particular McCloskey 1979, 1990) and on wh-adverbials (see Culicover 1991, Reinhart 1981, Rizzi 1990). Although my account will differ from the ones just mentioned in the precise set of wh-phrases that is merged directly in specCP, as well as in the arguments I put forward in favor of my position, it is worth acknowledging the general parallelism here. Third, the intuition that the internal complexity of wh-phrases plays a role in determining their precise structural position in the clausal left periphery is one that has recently gained popularity in such works as Munaro (1998), Poletto and Pollock (2002), and Zanuttini and Portner (2003). Although the findings of these works are perhaps

not always straightforwardly incorporable into the framework adopted here, they certainly point in the same general direction. Moreover, given that all these articles assume a much richer CP-structure than the one I outline in this chapter, they seem to suggest that the ideas developed in this chapter could in principle be incorporated into such a framework as well. A related question that can be raised in this context (and was brought up by a reviewer) is to what extent CP_1 and CP_2 can be identified with specific projections in the Rizzian left periphery (see Rizzi 1997a, 2001, 2004). As the reader might have guessed from the preceding discussion and as will become increasingly clear in the sections and chapters that follow, the closest Rizzian correlates to CP_1 and CP_2 are ForceP and FocP, respectively. However, given that I have not made a systematic comparison between the data and analyses presented here and those found in Rizzi's work, I have refrained from using the "orthodox" terminology, and I stick with the neutral labels throughout. The reader should bear the parallelism in mind, though.

4.3 Empirical Support

Related though it may be to existing accounts of how to split up the CP-domain into several projections, my proposal as it stands is clearly in need of some empirical support. I try to provide such support here. In the following sections, I discuss six arguments, each of which targets a specific aspect of the proposal I have outlined. The combined force of these arguments should have the effect of strengthening the proposal as a whole.

4.3.1 *Of* and *Dat* as Separate Functional Heads

As I have pointed out, I follow Hoekstra and Zwart (1994, 1997) and Bennis (1997, 2000) in assuming that the Dutch complementizers *of* 'if' and *dat* 'that' each head their own separate projection in the CP-domain. This is by no means an uncontested point of view, however. Sturm (1996) for example, argues that *of dat* 'if that' is in fact one single (though morphologically complex) complementizer, heading a single CP. Given that the crucial data Hoekstra and Zwart build their argument on (sentences involving conjunction reduction) are indeed subtle and not uncontroversial, I want to present a further argument here in favor of their proposal.[4] It concerns the fact (first noted by Hoekstra 1994) that in a small number of Dutch dialects the complementizer *of* 'if' can *precede* rather than follow the moved wh-phrase in an embedded wh-question. As the example in (3) illustrates, the dialect of Strijen is one of them.[5]

(3) Ik weet nie of met wie Jan oan et proate was.
I know not if with who John on it $talk_{INF}$ was
'I don't know who John was talking to.' [Strijen Dutch]

These dialects offer a way of testing quite directly the lexical status of the string *of dat* 'if that'. If it is a single morphologically complex complementizer, wh-phrases

should not be able to surface in between *of* 'if' and *dat* 'that' (given uncontroversial assumptions about lexical integrity); that is, *of dat* as a whole should either precede or follow the wh-phrase. If *of* and *dat* head different projections, however, wh-phrases might land in the specifier of the CP headed by *dat,* in which case the string *of* < wh-phrase < *dat* would not be problematic. As the sentence in (4) shows, the data favor the second option.

(4)	Ik	weet	nie	of	met	wie	dat	Jan	oan	et	proate	was.
	I	know	not	if	with	who	that$_{C°}$	John	on	it	talk$_{INF}$	was

'I don't know who John was talking to.' [Strijen Dutch]

Given that the string *of dat* 'if that' can be split up by a wh-phrase, it seems highly unlikely that it constitutes a single complementizer. Thus, this example strongly supports Hoekstra and Zwart's proposal regarding the status of *of* 'if' and *dat* 'that' as separate complementizers.[6]

4.3.2 The Operator/Nonoperator Status of Wh-Phrases

The proposal outlined in the previous section postulates an important difference in syntactic behavior between minimal and complex wh-phrases. While the former check an operator feature in specCP$_2$, the latter do not. This seems to suggest that minimal wh-phrases are, but complex ones are not endowed with an operator feature, or put differently, it seems to suggest that complex wh-phrases are not syntactic operators.

Interestingly, this is precisely the conclusion that was reached in much of the literature of the late 1980s on English wh-in-situ (in multiple wh-questions; see Guéron and May 1987, Hornstein and Weinberg 1987, Pesetsky 1987, Reinhart 1987, 1990). Consider for example the contrast in (5) (from Reinhart 1987:1).

(5) a. ? Which grade did his$_i$ teacher give [which student]$_i$?
b. * Which grade did his$_i$ teacher give who$_i$?

These sentences set up a configuration in which WCO-violations at LF can be detected. Assuming that in situ wh-phrases raise to the matrix specCP at LF, a typical WCO-violation should ensue due to the intervening coreferential pronoun. As the examples show, complex and minimal wh-phrases pattern differently, the latter but not the former inducing ungrammaticality. This suggests that while minimal wh-phrases are real quantifiers, which have to raise at LF to check an operator feature, complex ones are not syntactic operators and as a result can be interpreted in situ (e.g. through unselective binding or via a choice function).[7]

A second set of data pointing toward the same conclusion concerns the behavior of in situ wh-adjuncts. Consider the contrast in (6) (Reinhart 1990:4–5).

(6) a. * Who fainted when you behaved how?
b. Who fainted when you behaved which way?

Simple wh-adjuncts cannot be left in situ inside a wh-island, but complex ones can. Reinhart attributes this to a difference in LF-movement. While *how* obligatorily raises at LF and as a result will leave an ungoverned trace inside the island in (6)a, *which way* can remain in situ throughout the derivation and no ungrammaticality ensues. Translated into the line of reasoning developed earlier, these data can be seen as an extra indication that while simple wh-phrases are syntactic operators (that have to move to their scope-taking position), complex ones are not.

The third set of data I want to bring into the discussion is the most well-known and well-studied one. Consider the familiar contrast in (7).

(7) a. What did which student buy?
b. * What did who buy?

While minimal wh-phrases are subject to Superiority, complex ones are not.[8] The contrast in (7) can be given a fairly straightforward account, under the assumption that complex wh-phrases unlike minimal ones are not syntactic operators. In (7)b, the operator-feature on C° has failed to attract the closest bearer of a matching feature, that is, *who,* and as a result the derivation is ruled out as a violation of Attract Closest. In (7)a on the other hand, the wh-phrase *which student* does not bear the relevant feature, and as a result *what* can be moved across it without inducing a violation.[9]

My fourth and final point concerns the Dutch construction commonly referred to as contrastive left dislocation (henceforth CLD; see Grohmann 2001 for an overview of the extensive literature on this topic). Consider the two examples in (8).

(8) a. [Die jongens]$_i$, die$_i$ ken ik niet t$_{die}$.
those boys DEM know I not
'Those boys, I don't know.'

b. *Iedereen$_i$, die$_i$ ken ik niet t$_{die}$.
everybody DEM know I not [Dutch]

The sentence in (8)a represents a typical instance of CLD. A left dislocated phrase (in this case *die jongens* 'those boys') is base-generated in the left periphery of the clause, while a coindexed demonstrative pronoun (here *die*) moves from the clause-internal argument position to the V2-position of the clause (see section 4.4.2 here for discussion of this particular analysis). The b-example on the other hand illustrates that bare quantifiers such as *iedereen* 'everybody' are excluded as left dislocates (see also Cinque 1986 for a comparable claim about Italian clitic left dislocation; CLLD). Now consider in this respect the data in (9).[10]

(9) a. ??[Welke jongen]$_i$, die$_i$ heb je t$_{die}$ gezien?
which boy DEM have you seen

b. *Wie$_i$, die$_i$ heb je t$_{die}$ gezien?
who DEM have you seen [Dutch]

Once again, complex and minimal wh-phrases pattern differently. While the latter are categorically excluded from CLD, the former are considerably more acceptable as left dislocates (though still clearly marked). In light of the account developed in this chapter, the reason for the ungrammaticality of the example in (9)b is identical to that in (8)b, that is, quantifiers are disallowed to occur in CLD. The fact that there is a contrast with complex wh-phrases is another indication that these do not function as syntactic operators.[11] As such, the data in (9) provide further support for the proposed distinction between complex and minimal wh-phrases.

Summing up, the distinction I postulated in my analysis of the CP-domain between minimal and complex wh-phrases on closer inspection turns out be deeply rooted in the generative research tradition and is supported by a variety of facts. One issue still needs further discussion, though. If complex wh-phrases in English are not syntactic operators, then why are simple wh-questions like the one in (10)a sensitive to WCO and able to license parasitic gaps, as shown in (10)b and (10)c, respectively?

(10) a. Which boy does Julia like?
b. *[Which boy]$_i$ do his$_i$ parents like?
c. [Which boy]$_i$ did you see t_i without saying hi to e_i?

The traditional answer to this question is to stipulate that specCP in English is a "structural operator position" (see Cinque 1986:41, Chomsky 1982:102, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:211), that is, phrases that are not inherently operator-like "become" operators when they surface in specCP. From a minimalist perspective, however, such an account seems to be in conflict with the Inclusiveness Condition (Chomsky 1995), since a property is added to a phrase in the course of the derivation.[12] Moreover, it is unclear how this intuition could be formalized, given present-day machinery. The answer offered by my account is considerably more simple: questions like the one in (10)a display characteristics of operator/variable-dependencies because they involve empty operator movement from the IP-internal base position to specCP$_2$ (see the structure in (2)b).[13]

4.3.3 Wh-Copying

The third argument in favor of the proposal outlined above concerns the assumption that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in the left periphery of the clause. The data I bring to bear on this issue concern the construction known as "wh-copying." Consider an example in (11) (taken from McDaniel 1986, as quoted in Nunes 2004:38).

(11)

Wen	glaubt	Hans	wen	Jakob	gesehen	hat?
who$_{ACC}$	thinks	Hans	who$_{ACC}$	Jakob	seen	has

'Who does Hans think that Jakob saw?' [German]

Even though this sentence represents a single question, it contains two instances of the wh-word *wen* 'who$_{ACC}$.' Nunes (2004) argues that these two *wen*'s are in fact

copies of one another, and that they are part of a single movement chain (see also Du Plessis 1977, Fanselow and Ćavar 2001, Fanselow and Mahajan 2000, Hiemstra 1986, Höhle 1990, McDaniel 1989 for earlier, comparable accounts). Normally only one chain link is spelled out (usually the highest one), but in this (exceptional) case, two links of the same chain have both been spelled out. If this is the correct analysis of wh-copying, it makes an interesting prediction with respect to the account of complex wh-phrases developed in the previous section. Given that they are base-generated in the left periphery and do not move themselves, they should not be able to partake in wh-copying. No intermediate copies of the complex wh-phrase can be spelled out, simply because there *are* no such intermediate copies.[14] The examples in (11)–(12) show that this prediction is borne out: wh-copying is allowed with bare wh-phrases (11) and PPs containing them (12)a, but not with complex wh-phrases (12)b. (The examples in (12) are once again taken from McDaniel 1986, as quoted in Nunes 2004:42n35, 39).[15]

(12) a. Mit wem glaubst du mit wem Hans spricht?
with who$_{DAT}$ think you with who$_{DAT}$ Hans speaks
'Who do you think Hans is talking to?'

b. *Wessen Buch glaubst du wessen Buch Hans liest?
whose book think you whose book Hans reads [German]

These data thus support the claim that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in the left periphery, rather than having moved there from an IP-internal argument position.[16]

4.3.4 Preposition Stranding in Dutch

As is well known, Dutch is what one could call a partial preposition stranding language, in that it allows preposition stranding only in a very limited set of contexts. Van Riemsdijk (1978b) shows that prepositions can only be stranded by R-pronouns and by empty operators. Some relevant examples are given in (13) and (14).

(13) a. { Waar / * Wat } heb je die kist mee opengemaakt?
where / what have you that crate with open.made
'What did you open that crate with?'

b. de koevoet { waar / * die } ik de kist mee opengemaakt heb
the crowbar where / REL I the crate with open.made have
'the crowbar I opened the crate with' [Dutch]

(14) a. Die sleutel is te klein [Op om het slot mee open te doen.]
that key is too small for the lock with open to do
'That key is too small to open the lock with.'

b. Op heb ik al mee gewerkt.
have I already with worked
'I have already worked with that.'

c. een probleem [Op om over na te denken]
a problem for over PRT to think
'a problem to think about' [Dutch]

The contrasts in (13) illustrate that R-pronouns (in this case *waar* 'where') can strand a preposition, unlike their non-R counterparts. The example in (13)a illustrates this for wh-questions, and (13)b for relative clauses. The data in (14), on the other hand, exemplify a range of constructions traditionally analyzed as involving empty operator movement (i.e. *tough*-movement in (14)a, topic drop in (14)b and infinitival purpose clauses in (14)c), and in each of these cases a preposition has successfully been stranded. These data thus illustrate Van Riemsdijk's generalization.

A fact that has thus far gone unnoticed in the literature, however, is that not all non-R wh-phrases behave alike in this respect.[17] Specifically, while bare wh-pronouns clearly resist preposition stranding, complex wh-phrases lead to much better results, in many cases even up to full grammaticality.[18] Consider in this respect the contrast in (15).[19]

(15) a. * Wie wil je niet mee samenwerken?
who want you not with cooperate

b. ? Welke jongen wil je niet mee samenwerken?
which boy want you not with cooperate
'Which boy don't you want to cooperate with?' [Dutch]

In light of these data, one could argue that Van Riemsdijk's generalization is in need of revision. It would be unclear, though, what such a revision would look like. In particular, one would be hard pressed to find a feature that distinguishes R-pronouns, empty operators, and complex non-R wh-phrases on the one hand from simple non-R wh-phrases on the other. Another option would be to claim that examples like the one in (15)b involve R-pronoun movement or empty operator movement. Given that the sentence in (15)b does not contain an R-pronoun, one is led to the conclusion that wh-questions with complex wh-phrases involve empty operator movement. This conclusion is further corroborated by the contrast in (16).[20]

(16) a. * Met wie wil je niet mee samenwerken?
with who want you not with cooperate

b. ? Met welke jongen wil je niet mee samenwerken?
with which boy want you not with cooperate
'Which boy don't you want to cooperate with?' [Dutch]

What (16)b shows is that a complex wh-phrase is able not only to strand a preposition, but also to be merged as a PP, in spite of the fact that a preposition appears to have been stranded inside the IP. The contrast with (16)a shows that this option is not available to minimal wh-phrases. This further supports the hypothesis that in an example such as (16)b, it is not the wh-phrase itself that moves and strands

a preposition, but rather an empty operator. The preposition stranding data in (15)–(16) thus provide substantial support for the proposal outlined earlier.[21]

4.4.5 Free Relatives in Dutch

So far, I have provided evidence in favor of the status of *of* 'if' and *dat* 'that' as separate complementizers, the operator/nonoperator status of minimal versus complex wh-phrases, the base-generation of complex wh-phrases, and the idea that they involve empty operator movement. In this section, I focus on the hierarchical differences between minimal and complex wh-phrases *inside* the CP-domain. Recall that I argued that minimal wh-phrases have a landing site both in specCP_2 and in specCP_1.[22] Complex wh-phrases do not land in specCP_2 at any point in the derivation. This seems to suggest that if one could find a construction where CP_1 is absent but CP_2 is not (a truncated structure as it were), it should in principle allow minimal wh-phrases to occur, but not complex ones. Moreover, given that *of* 'if' is the head of CP_1 and *dat* 'that' the head of CP_2, the latter should but the former should not be able to appear in this hypothetical construction. In this section, I show that (at least one type of) free relatives in Dutch instantiate(s) precisely this pattern. Consider first (17).

(17) a. Wat op tafel ligt is voor jou.
    what on table lies is for you
    'What lies on the table is for you.'

  b. * Welk boek op tafel ligt is voor jou.
    which book on table lies is for you [Dutch]

As Groos and Van Riemsdijk (1981:204–205) first observed, only minimal wh-phrases are allowed to occur in free relatives in Dutch. Complex ones are disallowed.[23] This means that one of the requirements to identify free relatives as the hypothetical construction where CP_1 is truncated has now been met. The other one is illustrated in the examples in (18).

(18) a. * Wat of op tafel ligt is voor jou.
    what if on table lies is for you

  b. Wat dat op tafel ligt is voor jou.
    what $that_{C°}$ on table lies is for you
    'What lies on the table is for you.' [Dutch]

These data show that while the complementizer *dat* 'that' is allowed to occur in free relatives, *of* 'if' is not.[24] This suggests that (definite) free relatives should indeed be analyzed as truncated clausal structures, where the clause typing layer (CP_1) is absent, but the lower CP-structure is not (which ties in with the fact that free relatives involve operator/variable-dependencies). With respect to the issue at hand, however, it is important to note that in (17) and (18), complex wh-phrases and the complementizer *of* 'if' pattern together, thus providing strong support for the

CP-domain-internal hierarchical distinction I postulated between complex and minimal wh-phrases.

4.3.6 Doubly Filled COMP in Frisian

The final set of data I want to discuss in favor of the proposal outlined in the previous section will at the same time require a further refinement of this proposal. I will show that in some dialects, minimal wh-phrases can stay in $specCP_2$ without moving on to $specCP_1$ (at least before Spell-Out; see also note 6). The relevant data come from Frisian and from the dialect of Strijen, and they involve doubly filled COMP phenomena. Consider first some Frisian examples in (19) (from Hoekstra 1993:3).[25]

(19) a. Hy frege, wa (of) 't jûn kaam.
he asked who if that$_{C°}$ tonight came
'He asked who came tonight.'

b. Hja koe har net yn 't sin bringe tsjin wa
she could her not in the mind bring against whom
(of) 't se soks sein hie.
if that$_{C°}$ she such said had
'She couldn't remember who she had said such a thing to.'

c. Ik frege, hokker stik *(of) 't se lêzen hie.
I asked which article if that$_{C°}$ she read had
'I asked which article she had read.' [Frisian]

These examples show that while simple wh-phrases (see (19)a) and PPs containing them (see (19)b) can be followed both by *'t* 'it' and by *of 't* 'if that' in an embedded wh-question, complex wh-phrases can only be followed by *of 't* 'if that'. These data can be given a fairly straightforward account under the view of the CP-domain adopted here. Assume first that Frisian is an obligatorily doubly filled COMP filter violating language; that is, whenever a phrase occupies specCP, the head of that CP has to be spelled out (see Haegeman 1992:51 for a similar claim about the dialect of Lapscheure). Furthermore, assume that this requirement is bidirectional; that is, *of* 'if' is spelled out *if and only if* its specifier is filled. The sentences in (19) can now be interpreted as showing that while minimal wh-phrases can land either in $specCP_1$ (and be followed by *of 't* 'if that') or in $specCP_2$ (and be followed only by *'t* 'that'), complex ones only have $specCP_1$ as a possible landing (or in my case, base-generation) site. As a result, they can only be followed by *of 't* 'if that'. The fact that the order *of* < wh-phrase < *'t* is not attested in Frisian follows from the assumption that this language is subject to a bidirectional doubly filled COMP requirement.

Clearly, these Frisian data bear a close resemblance to the examples from the dialect of Strijen discussed earlier (see section 4.3.1). Reconsider one such example in (20).

(20) Ik weet nie of met wie Jan oan et proate was.
I know not if with who John on it talk was
'I don't know who John was talking to.' [Strijen Dutch]

This sentence shows that while the dialect of Strijen is similar to Frisian, in that the movement step from $specCP_2$ to $specCP_1$ is optional, the two varieties differ with respect to the conditions under which the complementizer *of* ‘if’ is spelled out. Specifically, while Frisian is a bidirectional doubly filled COMP dialect, the occurrence of *of* ‘if’ in the dialect of Strijen is (at least in wh-questions) completely optional. This implies that these data make a very strong prediction with respect to complex wh-phrases. Given that they never occupy $specCP_2$, they should not be able to be preceded by the complementizer *of* ‘if’. The example in (21) shows that this prediction is borne out.

(21)	Ik	vroag	me	af	<*of>	welke	jonge	<of>	die	maisjes	gistere	gezien	hebbe.
	I	ask	me	PRT	if	which	boy	if	the	girls	yesterday	seen	have

‘I wonder which boy the girls saw yesterday. [Strijen Dutch]

Summing up, while the optionality of the final movement step of minimal wh-phrases in some varieties of Dutch and Frisian clearly needs to be looked into further, the doubly filled COMP data discussed in this section provide strong support for the syntactic and hierarchical differences between complex and simple wh-phrases postulated earlier.

4.3.7 Conclusion

I have now presented six arguments in favor of the split CP-account developed in the previous section. I have shown that this proposal is supported by a variety of facts from a variety of languages. This means that in principle I can now proceed with the analysis of spading and swiping. Before doing so, however, I want to discuss two remaining issues raised by the present proposal.

4.4 Two Remaining Issues

In this section, I discuss two additional issues raised by the proposal I made in section 4.2. Although I am not able to provide definitive answers to either of them, I do want to point to some possible solutions. The first issue concerns the precise definition of the notions *minimal* and *complex*, while the second one deals with connectivity effects in wh-questions with complex wh-phrases.

4.4.1 The Definition of Complexity and the Role of D-Linking

Although I have said fairly little so far about the precise criterion that forms the dividing line between minimal and complex wh-phrases, the data I have discussed all seem to suggest that the crucial distinction is between bare wh-pronouns and PPs containing them on the one hand and DPs (possibly also contained inside a PP) featuring a wh-modifier on the other. In other words, the distinction between the two types of wh-phrases is a purely structural one. This is indeed the intuition I want to pursue throughout this and the following chapters.

However, this point of view seems to be at odds with at least one set of data discussed in the preceding sections, that is, the Superiority violations of section 4.3.2. As was noted very early on, bare wh-pronouns seem to behave like their complex counterparts under certain discourse-related circumstances (usually termed D-linking, following Pesetsky 1987). For example, as Pesetsky pointed out (1987:109), the Superiority violating sentence in (22) is acceptable for many speakers—in spite of it containing bare wh-pronouns—because the sets the wh-elements range over are given in the discourse (in this case the preceding sentence).

(22) I know that we need to install transistor A, transistor B, and transistor C, and I know that these holes are for transistors, but I'll be damned if I can figure but from the instructions *where what* goes!

In response to these data, three main lines of approach can be discerned in the literature. The first one is what Dayal (2003) calls the "functional WH approach." Its major advocates are Hornstein (1995), Comorovski (1996), and Dayal (1996). What these accounts have in common is that they try to reduce Superiority effects to the more general interaction between wh-phrases on the one hand and quantifiers such as *every man* on the other. This allows them to straightforwardly incorporate the effect of semantics/pragmatics on native speaker judgments of Superiority violations. Roughly, what these authors are proposing is that it is the semantics or pragmatics of the wh-phrase that determines whether it can occur in a Superiority violating configuration (see in this respect also Szabolcsi and Zwarts 1993 on extraction from weak islands).[26]

A different view is presented in Tsai (1994, 1999) and Reinhart (1997). They argue that in light of examples such as the one in (22), the division between complex and minimal wh-phrases should be replaced with the one between bare wh-adverbs, like *how* and *why,* and all the other wh-phrases. Their reasoning goes as follows. Wh-phrases that have an N-restriction denote a set and hence can be interpreted in situ (either by choice functions or via unselective binding), that is, they display nonoperator behavior. This holds both for complex wh-phrases like *which book,* which have an overt N-restriction, and for bare wh-pronouns like *who* or *what,* where the N-restriction is implicit (say 'person' in the case of *who* and 'thing' in the case of *what*). Bare wh-adverbs do not have an N-restriction. Rather, they are inherent operators and have to raise to specCP in order to be interpreted.

A third line of approach can be found in Aoun et al. (1987) and Aoun and Li (2003). They argue that in spite of the data in (22), the crucial factor determining whether or not a wh-phrase can occur in a Superiority violating configuration is structural complexity; that is, complex wh-phrases can, but minimal ones cannot. Aoun and Li (2003) provide various types of evidence in favor of this proposal. First of all, they point out that in Lebanese Arabic, constructions such as those in (22) do not occur. The only types of wh-phrases that can violate Superiority are structurally complex ones. Second, they note that in an example such as the one in (22), both wh-phrases are stressed, and moreover, there is an intonation break after the first wh-phrase. The fact that such "extra features" are missing in Superiority violating

which-questions such as *Which review did which writer write?* is then seen as an indication that these two constructions should not be equated with one another. Third, while judgments on Superiority violations involving *which*-phrases are very robust, those on examples like the one in (22) are extremely delicate and subject to interspeaker variation (as already pointed out by Pesetsky 1987:109). In this respect, Aoun and Li (2003) point to a contribution to LinguistList in which out of a group of twenty-seven native speakers, a large majority judged the sentence in (23) unacceptable, in spite of the fact that it was presented in a heavily D-linked context.[27]

(23) What did who bring?

The analysis I am advocating in this chapter combines elements of the Aoun and Li approach with that of Tsai and Reinhart. I agree with Aoun and Li (2003) that the distinction relevant for understanding (at least the core cases of) Superiority violations is the one between structurally complex wh-phrases like *which book* and simple ones like *who* and *why,* that is, that the effect of D-linking is essentially epiphenomenal (see in this respect also Fiengo 1998). On the other hand, I want to allow for some flexibility when it comes to *who* and *what.* At least for some speakers, these wh-phrases seem to pattern with their complex counterparts in examples such as the one in (22). Moreover, as pointed out by Tsai (1994, 1999), in Chinese the operator/nonoperator split appears to be between (certain uses of) *how* and *why* on the one hand and all the other wh-phrases on the other, indicating that at least in this language, *who* and *what* pattern with complex wh-phrases for all speakers (and see also the discussion of Eastern Norwegian spading in chapter 8). What I want to propose is that complex wh-phrases like *which book* and wh-adverbs like *how* and *why* are limiting cases on opposite ends of a complexity scale, while bare wh-pronouns such as *who* and *what* occupy an intermediate position.[28] Specifically, although the implicit N-restriction of wh-pronouns like *who* is normally syntactically inaccessible, in some languages and in some contexts it is (or can be) activated. If it is, the wh-pronoun starts to behave syntactically like a complex wh-phrase, while pragmatically it may—though it does not have to—acquire a D-linked reading. For example, in the languages under consideration here (i.e. English, Dutch, and Frisian), the default syntactic structure of *who* is $[_{DP}\ [_{D^\circ}$ *who* $]]$. However, sometimes it is merged as $[_{DP}\ [_{D^\circ}$ *who* $]\ [_{NP}\ [_{N^\circ}$ *e* $]]]$.[29] This means that while on the whole it behaves differently from complex wh-phrases like *which book,* in certain restricted contexts they pattern alike.[30] Moreover, this is a point of cross-linguistic variation. In Chinese, the internal structure of *who* is always accessible, and as a result this phrase can always be interpreted in situ and never displays operator behavior.

Clearly, the issues touched on in this section are substantial enough to be considered a field of research on their own. Accordingly, it was not my intention to provide an in-depth discussion of Superiority and/or D-linking here. Rather, I have tried to specify the particular position occupied by my account in the ongoing debate on these issues. Although I will ignore these complications in the rest of the discussion, the reader should bear them in mind.

4.4.2 Connectivity Effects

In this section, I discuss an important prediction of my proposal that—at least at first sight—does not seem to hold. Recall that I argued that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in the left periphery of the clause (specCP$_1$ to be precise) and hence at no point in the derivation occupy the IP-internal argument position. This seems to suggest that they should be unable to display connectivity effects from that position. As is well known and is illustrated in (24) (Sauerland 1998:30), this is a false prediction.

(24) [Which friend of her$_i$'s] did [every student]$_i$ invite?

This example shows that the pronoun *her* can be interpreted as a bound variable, bound by the quantifier *every student* in spite of it not being c-commanded by *every student* in the position it is spelled out in. A common analysis of such connectivity effects assumes that at LF (the level at which Binding Theory is argued to apply) it is the lower copy of *her* that is activated (see Fox 1999, Sauerland 1998 for extensive discussion). Since this copy is c-commanded by *every student,* the bound variable reading is available, and the sentence is correctly ruled in. This is represented in (25).

(25) LF: <which ~~friend of her$_i$'s~~> did every student$_i$ invite <~~which~~ friend of her$_i$'s>

Given that in my analysis, there is no IP-internal copy of the complex wh-phrase, the approach sketched in (25) is not available to me. Put differently, to the extent that the analysis I have proposed is correct, it seems to suggest that not all connectivity effects are the result of reconstruction, that is, of activating (part of) a lower copy in a movement chain. Although this point of view is not at all unprecedented (see Sharvit 1999, Sharvit and Guerzoni 1999, and Sternefeld 2001 for discussion and references), the proper analysis of connectivity is a topic whose scope extends well beyond this chapter. Accordingly, I will not attempt to explore this issue in depth here. Rather, I want to make plausible the claim that at least in some constructions (including—if I am right—wh-questions featuring complex wh-phrases) connectivity effects can be witnessed in spite of the fact that no movement has taken place. Consider for example (26).

(26)	Naar	zijn$_i$	promotie,	daar	kijkt	[iedere	taalkundige]$_i$	naar	t_{daar}	uit.
	to	his	defense	there	looks	every	linguist	to		out

‘Every linguist looks forward to his defense.’ [Dutch]

This sentence illustrates CLD (see section 4.3.2). The PP *naar zijn promotie* ‘to his defense’ surfaces in the left periphery of the clause and is resumed by a d-pronoun (in this case *daar* ‘there’) that occupies the preverb V2-position in the clause that follows. Hoekstra and Zwart (1997) and Hoekstra (1999) argue in detail that—at least in Dutch and Frisian CLD—it is the d-pronoun and not the left-dislocated XP itself that has moved from the IP-internal argument position. Rather, this XP (in this

case the PP *naar zijn promotie* 'to his defense') is base-generated in the left periphery and forms a derived chain with the movement chain created by the d-pronoun. That this analysis is on the right track is suggested by this particular example as well. Note that the preposition *naar* 'to' has been stranded inside the IP. This means that the IP-internal gap has the categorial status of a DP. Given that the left-dislocated phrase is a PP, it seems unlikely that it has moved from within the IP. Noteworthy from the point of view of the discussion in this section, however, is that Dutch CLD displays connectivity effects. In (26), the pronoun *zijn* 'his' can be interpreted as a bound variable, bound by the subject *iedere taalkundige* 'every linguist'. If the base-generation analysis I have sketched is correct, this pronoun is not c-commanded by the subject at any point in the derivation. As such, Dutch CLD represents a case of connectivity without reconstruction.[31]

This line of reasoning is reminiscent of Cinque's (1990) discussion of Italian CLLD. Consider some examples in (27) (Cinque 1990:59).

(27) a. A { lei / * se stessa}, Maria dice che non ci pensiamo mai.
of her / herself Mary says that not there $think_{1PL}$ ever
'Mary says that we never think of her.'

b. A { *?lei / se stessa}, Maria non ci pensa.
of her / herself Mary not there thinks
'Mary doesn't think of herself' [Italian]

These data show that CLLDed phrases display connectivity effects. The form of the pronoun in the left peripheral phrase in these examples is dependent on the position of the gap in the clause that follows. In (27)b, that gap is in the same minimal domain as the subject *Maria* 'Mary', and as a result the anaphor *se stessa* 'herself' is used. In (27)a, a clause boundary intervenes between the two, and it is the nonanaphor form *lei* 'her' that shows up. At first sight, then, these data seem to suggest that CLLD is the result of movement from the IP-internal argument position to the specifier of some left-peripheral functional projection. Interestingly, however, Cinque (1990:56–97) argues at length against such an account. He demonstrates that Italian CLLD is not derived by movement but rather by base-generation of the left dislocated phrase in the left periphery of the clause. This means that examples such as those in (27) represent a second instance of connectivity that is not the result of activating a lower copy in a movement chain.

A third set of data that is relevant in this respect concerns clefts and pseudoclefts. These two construction types have since long been a thorn in the side of strictly syntactic accounts of connectivity. The problem is that while they display strong connectivity effects, it is very hard to devise plausible movement accounts for them. This has inspired many authors to propose semantic analyses of the connectivity effects. The literature on this topic is vast (see for example Bachrach 2003, Den Dikken, Meinunger, and Wilder 2000, Heller 2003, Heycock and Kroch 1999, Merchant 1998, Sharvit 1999, Schlenker 2003, Svenonius 1998), so I will limit myself to one basic example here (from Svenonius 1998:180).

(28) ? It is himself$_i$ who John$_i$ likes best.

This sentence represents a cleft with a wh-operator in the embedded specCP. Svenonius (1998) argues that such clefts are derived by base-generation of the pivot (in this case *himself*) inside the matrix clause and concomitant movement of the wh-phrase from the IP-internal base position to the embedded specCP. Under such an analysis, however, it is unexpected (given the reconstruction analysis outlined in (25)) that an anaphor in the pivot can be bound by the embedded subject. Again, the data seem to point toward connectivity not being the result of a movement chain.

Fourth, consider the examples in (29) and (30) (taken from Mulder and Den Dikken 1991:308, 310n8, 307; the examples in (30) were originally reported in Wilder 1991:123).

(29) a. [His$_i$ car] is tough [*Op* for every man$_i$ to have to part with t_{Op}].
b. [Pictures of himself$_i$ nude] are tough [*Op* for me to think that any man$_i$ would like t_i].

(30) a. For him to be top of the class is hard to believe.
b. *I cannot believe for him to be top of the class.

The sentences in (29) represent instances of so-called *tough*-movement, which is traditionally considered to be one of the core exemplars of empty operator constructions (see Rezac 2004 for recent discussion and references). Specifically, the sentence-initial bracketed DPs are base-generated in the matrix clause, while an empty operator (indicated here as *Op*) moves from the base position in the embedded clause to the specifier of the CP headed by the infinitival complementizer *for*.[32] The claim that the matrix subject is base-generated outside of the embedded clause is corroborated by the examples in (30). While (30)b shows that the verb *believe* does not select for an infinitival complement headed by *for,* such a clause *can* be combined with *believe* under *tough*-movement. Under the assumption that the gap position in the embedded clause hosts an empty operator, this contrast follows straightforwardly. As for connectivity, under a Fox/Sauerland approach, the analysis just sketched would imply that *tough*-movement does not show connectivity effects. As the examples in (29) illustrate, however, this prediction is not borne out (see also Lasnik and Stowell 1991:700, Sportiche 2002 for similar observations). In particular, in (29)a the pronoun *his* can be interpreted as a bound variable, bound by the embedded subject *everyone,* and so can the anaphor *himself* in (29)b. The data in (29) and (30), then, constitute a fourth type of construction in which connectivity effects cannot be dependent on the activation of a lower copy in a movement chain.

Fifth and last, consider the copular sentences in (31) (from Mulder and Den Dikken 1991:308).

(31) a. His$_i$ car is every man$_i$'s pride and joy.
b. Pictures of himself$_i$ are John$_i$'s private kingdom.

Predicative constructions such as those in (31) are generally not considered to involve movement of the subject from a position c-commanded by the predicative DP. That is, there is no lower copy of the subject that can be activated at LF in order for the pronoun it contains to be properly bound. Copular sentences such as these thus constitute a fifth case of connectivity without movement.

Summing up, the data reviewed in this section suggest that connectivity effects are not a foolproof diagnostic for movement. Although it was not my intention here to venture very deeply into the reconstruction debate, I hope to have made plausible the idea that at least in some constructions connectivity effects are not the result of activating a lower copy in a movement chain, and that for such constructions, alternative—possibly semantic—reconstruction mechanisms have to be sought. With respect to the analysis of the CP-domain developed in this chapter, this implies that the fact that complex wh-phrases display connectivity effects should not be seen as a counterargument against my analysis of them.

4.5 Conclusion

The background assumption necessary to provide an analysis of dialect Dutch spading and English swiping is now firmly in place. I have introduced and discussed a specific view on the CP-domain and on the role played by complex and minimal wh-phrases in the various CP-layers making up the left periphery. In the next chapter, I put this proposal to work, exploring in detail how it interacts with the syntax of sluicing.

5

The Analysis

5.1 The Basic Properties of Spading and Swiping

In this chapter, I present an analysis of dialect Dutch spading (section 5.2) and English swiping (section 5.3). In each case, I first give the core analysis (i.e. a step-by-step derivation of a representative example), after which I return to the basic properties of the construction and show that they all follow from the proposed account. Recall from chapter 3 that the basic properties of spading and swiping can be summarized as in (1) and (2) respectively.

(1) Basic properties of dialect Dutch spading:
   a. Spading contains a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer.
   b. Spading only occurs in sluicing.
   c. Spading only targets minimal wh-phrases.
   d. The demonstrative pronoun in spading bears stress.
   e. Spading induces a surprise-reading.
   f. Spading stems from an underlying cleft.

(2) Basic properties of English swiping:
   a. Swiping only occurs in sluicing.
   b. Swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases.
   c. A swiped preposition bears stress.
   d. Swiping only affects prepositions that have no antecedent.

5.2 Dialect Dutch Spading

5.2.1 A Preliminary Assumption

Before proceeding with the analysis, I need to make one preliminary assumption about the demonstrative pronoun in spading, one that concerns the properties in (1)d and (1)e. I will assume that the fact that the demonstrative pronoun bears stress and the fact that spading induces a surprise-reading are both indications that the demonstrative pronoun in spading is focused.[1] As far as property (1)d is concerned, this does not seem to be a controversial statement, as it is well known that there is a close (though not one-to-one) correlation between focus and stress in languages like Dutch. With respect to property (1)e, the claim needs some further elaboration. Recall the example I used to demonstrate the surprise-reading induced by spading, repeated here.

(3) A: Jef eid iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
Jeff has someone seen who that_{DEM}
'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?' [Wambeek Dutch]

By using spading, B indicates that he didn't expect Jeff to have seen someone, that is, out of a relevant set of possible activities Jeff could have been involved in, the activity of seeing someone is singled out and given high salience. Compare this to an example such as the one in (4), where the noun phrase *nen boek* 'a book' is stressed and focused.

(4) Jef ei nen BOEK gekocht.
Jeff has a book bought
'Jeff bought a BOOK.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, out of a relevant set of possible things Jeff could have bought, a book is singled out and given high salience. The parallelism with the surprise-reading induced by spading is striking, the only difference being that in (3) it is an entire proposition that is focused. This means that it is fairly safe to assume that focus is involved in causing the surprise-reading of spading, but it remains unclear how this relates to the demonstrative pronoun. What I want to suggest is that the demonstrative pronoun is anaphoric to the preceding statement. For example, in the dialogue in (3), the demonstrative in B's reply refers back to A's original statement. This explains how focusing the demonstrative can create a reading whereby the entire preceding proposition appears to be focused.[2] I will return to the anaphoricity of the demonstrative in section 5.2.4, but it is worth pointing out here that this assumption accords very well with native speaker intuitions about spading. Without exception, when a native speaker of a spading dialect is asked what the *dat* 'that' in a spading example stands for, he or she says that it refers to the preceding statement.

As for the technical implementation, I will assume that the demonstrative in spading bears a [+F(ocus)]-feature, with a matching feature on $C°_2$.[3] Moreover, in wh-questions (and recall that I will be dealing with clefts with a wh-pivot), focus movement is not overt in Dutch. This is shown in example (5), where the focused DP

nen BOEK ‘a book’ cannot occur in a left-peripheral position. Accordingly, I will assume that the [+F]-feature on C°$_2$ is weak (in the sense of Chomsky 1995).

(5)	Wannieje	ei	< *nen	BOEK>	Jef	<nen	BOEK>	gekocht?	
	when	has	a	book	Jeff	a	book	bought	

‘When did Jeff buy a BOOK?’ [Wambeek Dutch]

5.2.2 The Analysis

Recall that I have shown that spading stems from an underlying cleft with a wh-pivot (see (1)f). For example, the spaded clause in B’s reply in (6) derives not from the ‘regular’ wh-question in (7), but rather from the cleft in (8).

(6)	A: Jef	eid	iemand	gezien.	B: Wou	da?	
	Jeff	has	someone	seen	who	that$_{DEM}$	

‘A: Jeff has seen someone. B: Who?’ [Wambeek Dutch]

(7)	Wou	ei	Jef	gezien?
	who	has	Jeff	seen

‘Who has Jeff seen?’ [Wambeek Dutch]

(8)	Wou	is	da	da	Jef	gezien	eit?
	who	is	that$_{DEM}$	that$_{C°}$	Jeff	seen	has

‘Who is it that Jeff has seen?’ [Wambeek Dutch]

This means that the derivational history of B’s reply in (6) runs parallel to that of the example in (8) for at least part of the way. I will now go through this derivation step by step, starting from the matrix IP-level. This is represented in (9).[4]

(9)	[$_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$	is	wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$	da	Jef	gezien	eit]
	that$_{DEM}$	is	who	that$_{C°}$	Jeff	seen	has

In this structure, the demonstrative pronoun is merged in specIP, while the wh-phrase *wou* ‘who’ occupies some lower specifier position (see note 4). As I have pointed out, *da* ‘that’ bears a [+F]-feature, while the wh-pronoun bears an operator feature, and a clause typing feature (called [+Q] here, for “question”). The next step in the derivation is the merger of C°$_2$. This is represented in (10).

(10) [$_{C2'}$ C$_2$°$_{[+Op.strong,+F.weak]}$ [$_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit]]

C°$_2$ is merged with a weak [+F]-feature targeting the [+F]-feature of the demonstrative pronoun and a strong operator feature matching that of the wh-phrase. This is the point in the derivation where the instance of spading in (6) and the cleft in (8) part ways. Specifically, the next step in the derivation of the cleft is wh-movement (possibly even preceded by Subject-Auxiliary Inversion).[5] The derivation of the spading example, on the other hand, requires raising of the demonstrative at this point. To show why this is the case, I have to digress slightly from the main

argument and go into Richards's (2001) theory of the relation between feature strength and the overt/covert distinction.

Richards (2001:chap. 4) argues that under some circumstances, feature checking relations involving weak features are nonetheless able to trigger overt movement. Notably, one of the circumstances he discusses is when the tail of the movement chain is deleted by ellipsis. Richards argues that the absence of overt movement in a feature checking relation involving weak features is essentially due to a PF-requirement determining which copy in a chain to spell out. More specifically, the combination of the two principles in (11) (Richards 2001:105) has the effect of eliminating overt movement in the majority of the cases involving weak features.

(11) a. PF must receive unambiguous instructions about which part of a chain to pronounce.
b. A strong feature instructs PF to pronounce the copy in a chain with which it is in a feature checking relation.

Under these assumptions, the only two types of movement chains available are single-membered chains (where there is no ambiguity as to which copy to spell out) and chains in which a strong feature is being checked (where it is the copy that is in the checking relation that is being spelled out). Nontrivial chains in which one of the copies checks a weak feature do not provide PF with unambiguous instructions as to which copy to spell out: there is more than one copy, which means that there is a choice, but none of the copies checks a strong feature, so PF has no way of deciding which copy to choose. As a result, the derivation crashes.

Given that this ban on overt movement is due to a PF-requirement, however, it should be possible for the ungrammaticality caused by the violation of this requirement to be undone at PF. Consider in this respect the chain in (12) (Richards 2001:134).

(12) $[\ \ldots\ XP_{\cancel{[F]}}\ Y_{\cancel{[F.weak]}}\ \ldots\ [_{\alpha}\ \ldots\ XP_{[F]}\ \ldots\ ]]$

If α is an ellipsis site, then PF receives instructions not to pronounce anything inside α. This means that the lower copy of XP's chain is left unpronounced and that the ambiguity that caused the lack of overt movement in chains involving weak features disappears. In other words, the principles in (11) predict that when the lower part of an overt movement chain involving weak features is deleted at PF, such a chain should be legitimate.[6]

Returning now to the main argument, it is clear that Richards's proposal applies to spading as well. Consider again the stage in the derivation after $C°_2$ is merged, repeated here.

(13) $[_{C2'}\ C_2°_{[+Op.strong,+F.weak]}\ [_{IP}\ da_{[+F]}$ is $wou_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit]]

Given that spading only occurs in sluicing, that is, in elliptical contexts, the checking relation between $C°_2$ and the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that' triggered by the weak [+F]-feature on $C°_2$ induces overt movement of the demonstrative pronoun. In other words, *da* 'that' moves to $specCP_2$. This is illustrated in (14).[7]

(14) [$_{CP2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ [$_{C2'}$ C$_2$°$_{[+Op.strong,+}$~~$_{F.weak}$~~$_{]}$ [$_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit]]]

The next step in the derivation involves the movement of the wh-phrase, which checks its operator feature against C°$_2$.[8] Following Richards (2001:chap. 3), I assume the wh-phrase tucks in under the demonstrative. This is represented in (15).

(15) [$_{CP2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ [$_{CP2}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ [$_{C2'}$ C$_2$°$_{[+}$~~$_{Op.strong,+F.weak}$~~$_{]}$ [$_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit]]]]

Now C°$_1$ is merged. This complementizer head bears a strong clause typing feature [+Q], and it attracts the wh-phrase to its specifier.[9] This is shown in (16) and (17), respectively.

(16) [$_{C1'}$ C$_1$°$_{[+Q.strong]}$ [$_{CP2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ [$_{CP2}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ [$_{C2'}$ C$_2$°$_{[+}$~~$_{Op.strong,+F.weak}$~~$_{]}$ [$_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit]]]]]

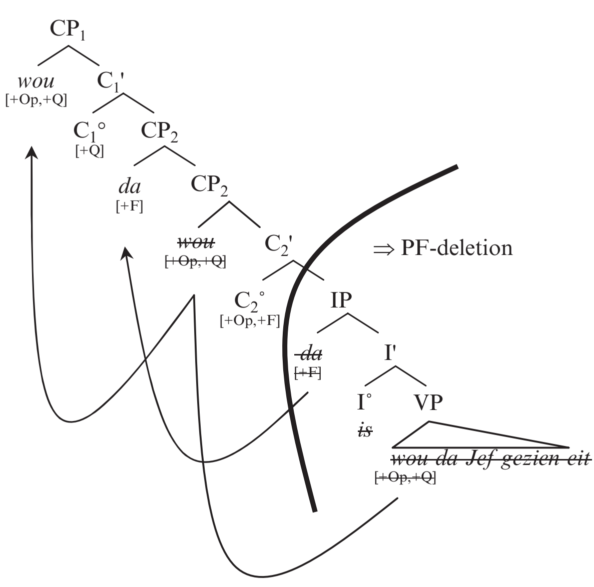
(17) [$_{CP1}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ [$_{C1'}$ C$_1$°~~$_{[+Q.strong]}$~~ [$_{CP2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ [$_{CP2}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ [$_{C2'}$ C$_2$°$_{[+}$~~$_{Op.strong,+F.weak}$~~$_{]}$ [$_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit]]]]]]

Finally, at PF the IP is elided (i.e. sluiced), as are the lower copies in the movement chain of the wh-phrase. The result is shown in (18).[10]

(18) [$_{CP1}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ [$_{C1'}$ C$_1$°$_{[+Q.strong]}$ [$_{CP2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ [$_{CP2}$ ~~wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$~~ [$_{C2'}$ C$_2$°$_{[+}$~~$_{Op.strong,+F.weak}$~~$_{]}$ ~~[$_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit]~~]]]]]

What remains, then, is a sluiced wh-phrase followed by a demonstrative pronoun, that is, the derivation has converged, and it has yielded an instance of spading. The tree structure in (19) reiterates the essential ingredients of the analysis.

(19)



5.2.3 The Basic Properties of Spading Revisited

Although some of the basic properties of spading formed an integral part of the analysis and are as such accounted for, it is worth going over them one more time, as they will highlight another aspect of the interaction between the split CP system proposed in chapter 4 and the syntax of sluicing. Specifically, I will argue that sluicing does not always delete the same portion of the clausal structure. Recall that the basic properties of dialect Dutch spading can be summarized as in (20).

(20) Basic properties of dialect Dutch spading:
  a. Spading contains a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer.
  b. Spading only occurs in sluicing.
  c. Spading only targets minimal wh-phrases.
  d. The demonstrative pronoun in spading bears stress.
  e. Spading induces a surprise-reading.
  f. Spading stems from an underlying cleft.

About four of these six characteristics I can be very brief. The properties in (20)d and (20)e I already discussed in section 5.2.1, where I argued that they are both manifestations of the [+F]-feature on the demonstrative pronoun. Property (20)f I took as the starting point of the analysis, in that the derivational history of spading runs (at least partially) parallel to that of clefts with a wh-pivot, and property (20)a follows straightforwardly as well: the demonstrative pronoun found in spading is the same as the one found in clefts (see also section 5.2.4 for further discussion of this issue). This leaves the properties in (20)b and (20)c. The former I crucially used in the analysis. The overt movement of the demonstrative pronoun to specCP$_2$ triggered by the weak [+F]-feature on C°$_2$ is only allowed if the lower part of the movement chain is elided. In other words, spading only occurs in sluicing because sluicing is crucially needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation. This ties in nicely with much recent literature on “repair” effects induced by ellipsis (see Merchant 2008b:152–153 for a brief overview). One further refinement is in order, though. Reconsider one of the examples I gave earlier (in chapter 3, section 3.2.2) to illustrate the fact that spading only occurs in sluicing, repeated here as (21).

(21) *Uu dad ei Jef tprobleem opgelost?
  how that$_{\text{DEM}}$ has Jeff the.problem solved
  INTENDED READING: ‘How did Jeff solve the problem?’ [Wambeek Dutch]

On closer inspection, this example is not just ungrammatical because the demonstrative pronoun has moved overtly without the lower part of its movement chain being elided. The second—and arguably more severe—problem is that there is no base position for the demonstrative pronoun to move from in the first place. Given that spading always derives from clefts with a wh-pivot and given that this example does not contain such a cleft, there is simply no source for the demonstrative pronoun. This problem can be circumvented, though, by looking at nonelliptical clefts with a wh-pivot. This time, there *is* a source for the demonstrative pronoun,

and as the example in (22) shows, overt movement of this demonstrative indeed leads to an ungrammatical result.

(22)	*Wou	dad	is	da	Jef	gezien	eit?	
	who	that_{DEM}	is	$\text{that}_{\text{C}^\circ}$	Jeff	seen	has	
	INTENDED READING: 'Who is it that Jeff has seen?'							[Wambeek Dutch]

The structural representation of this example is given in (23). It has undergone precisely the same derivation as the one outlined for spading in the previous section, but for the deletion of IP. Given that the result is ungrammatical, this example forms a nice illustration of the repair effect induced by sluicing in spading.

(23) $[_{\text{CP1}}$ wou $\text{C}^\circ{}_1$ $[_{\text{CP2}}$ dad $[_{\text{CP2}}$ ~~wou~~ $[_{\text{C2'}}$ $\text{C}_2{}^\circ$ $[_{\text{IP}}$ ~~dad~~ is ~~wou~~ da Jef gezien eit?]]]]]

The final property of spading concerns the fact that only minimal wh-phrases can be followed by a demonstrative pronoun when sluiced, that is, complex wh-phrases such as *welken boek* 'which book' are systematically excluded from spading. This has so far figured in the analysis only in a very indirect way. Specifically, the derivation I went through illustrated how a spading example containing a minimal wh-phrase can be successfully derived. I will now show that the fact that a similar derivation is not possible for complex wh-phrases follows straightforwardly from the interaction between the split CP-account presented in chapter 4 and the syntax of sluicing. In a nutshell, what I will propose is that sluicing with complex wh-phrases deletes CP_2 rather than IP. As a result, the demonstrative pronoun, regardless of whether it moves to specCP_2 overtly or not, will not be able to surface. Before I can demonstrate this, however, I have to be more explicit about the syntax of sluicing.

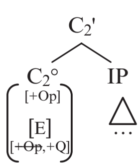
Following Merchant (2001:55–61, 2004) I assume that the ellipsis process involved in sluicing should be implemented by means of a syntactic feature, that is, the [E]-feature. This feature is merged with the C°-head whose complement is to be elided, and represents all the relevant properties that distinguish elliptical structures from their nonelliptical counterparts. It is important to stress that this feature is more than a convenient, technical deus ex machina that is invented to make analyses of elliptical constructions more in line with present-day machinery. Merchant's implementation allows him to directly link the licensing and identification requirements on ellipsis with the phonological effect of nonpronunciation. This becomes clearer when one considers the syntax, phonology, and semantics of the [E]-feature (Merchant 2004; in (24)b, ϕ_{IP} is the phonological representation of the IP node).[11]

(24) a. the syntax of [E]: $\text{E}_{[u\text{wh}^*, u\text{Q}^*]}$
b. the phonology of [E]: $\phi_{\text{IP}} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{E}\ __$
c. the semantics of [E]: $[\![\text{E}]\!] = \lambda p : \text{e-GIVEN}\ (p)\ [p]$

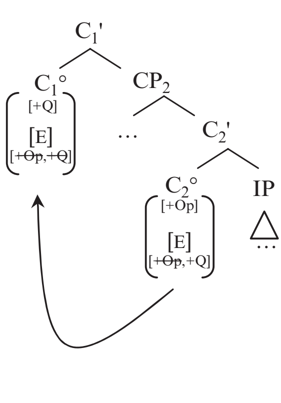
The formula in (24)a represents the licensing requirements on sluicing. As was pointed out by Lobeck (1995), only the null C° of constituent questions allows its complement to be elided by sluicing. The specification in (24)a captures this intuition by stating that [E] is itself endowed with [+wh,+Q]-features. Moreover,

these features are marked as uninterpretable (i.e. in need of checking) and strong (marked by the asterisk), which means that they have to be checked in a local relationship, not by means of a long-distance checking mechanism such as Agree. As a result, [E] can only occur on the null C° of constituent questions, which in turn means that only the complement of this C° can be elided. The phonology of [E] is fairly straightforward. It instructs whatever PF or post-PF mechanism is responsible for phonological realization not to parse its complement. The semantics of [E] encodes the identification or recoverability requirement on the elided phrase. Roughly, an expression is e-GIVEN when it has an appropriate antecedent (see the next section for further discussion of e-GIVENness). What the formula in (24)c says, then, is that semantic composition cannot proceed if the complement of [E] is not e-GIVEN. In other words, only phrases that have an appropriate antecedent (i.e. whose content is recoverable from this antecedent) can be elided.

Returning to the main discussion, the issue that is relevant here are the syntactic licensing requirements of [E]. Merchant presents his analysis from the point of view of a single, unsplit CP, that is, both the [+wh]-feature and the [+Q]-feature are on one and the same C°-head. In chapter 4, however, I have argued in favor of a more refined view on the CP-domain. While the [+wh]-feature (which I have been calling the [+Op]-feature, and will continue to do so) is checked in CP_2, the [+Q]-feature resides in $C°_1$. Clearly, this will have consequences for the way the [E]-feature is licensed, as well as for the question which part of the structure is elided by [E]. I will now go through an abstract sample derivation in order to explore some of these consequences. Assume that $C°_2$ has just been merged, and that it bears the [E]-feature. In this local configuration, the [+Op]-feature of [E] can be checked against that of $C_2°$. This is represented in (25).

(25)


Next, $C_1°$ is merged (abstracting away for now from possible phrasal movement to $specCP_2$, but see my discussion later). It attracts [E], which can then check its [+Q]-feature. This is shown in (26).

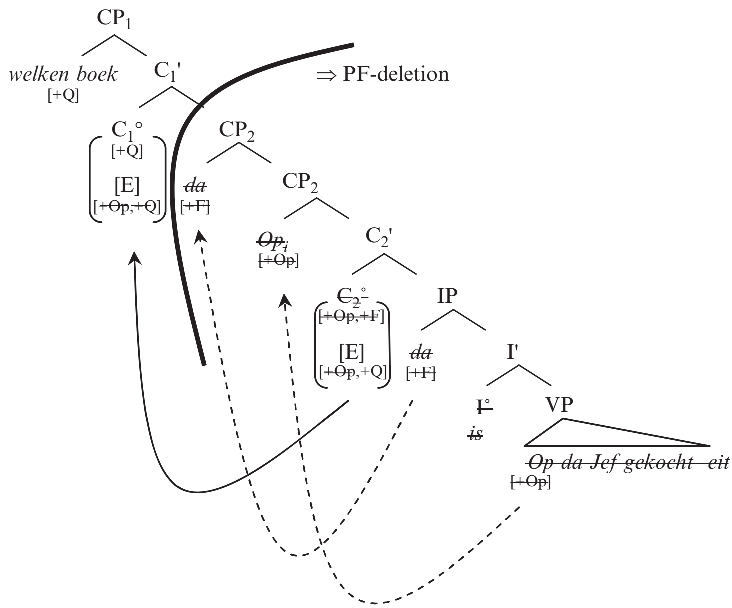
(26)


At this point in the derivation, [E] is syntactically fully licensed. This means that it is now in a position to trigger deletion. Given that it resides on $C_1°$, the foregoing reasoning leads to the conclusion that it is CP_2 that is elided under sluicing, rather than IP. This, I want to argue, is precisely what happens in sluicing with complex wh-phrases. Moreover, it also accounts for why they cannot occur in spading. Consider the ungrammatical spading example in B's reply in (27) and its derivation in (28).

(27)	A:	Jef	ei	nen	boek	gekocht.	B:	Welken	boek	(*da)?
		Jeff	has	a	book	bought		which	book	that_{DEM}

'A: Jeff bought a book. B: Which book?' [Wambeek Dutch]

(28)

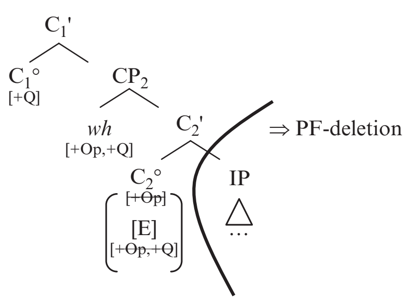


Recall that I argued that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in $specCP_1$, while an empty operator moves from the IP-internal base position to $specCP_2$. Other than that, the derivation depicted in (28) is in all relevant respects identical to the one given in the previous section, except for the fact that it is CP_2 rather than IP that is deleted at PF. Specifically, after having checked its [+Op]-feature, the [E]-feature on $C°_2$ moves to $C°_1$ in order to check its [+Q]-feature. As soon as both of its features are checked, it triggers deletion of the complement of the head on which it resides, that is, in this case, CP_2. As is illustrated in the tree structure in (28), however, this operation has considerable consequences with respect to the possibility of doing spading. In particular, regardless of whether the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'

moves overtly to specCP_2 or not, it will be contained in the ellipsis site and hence is unable to surface next to the sluiced wh-phrase.[12] That explains why spading with complex wh-phrases is not allowed.

The obvious question that arises at this point is why spading *is* allowed with minimal wh-phrases. The derivation I went through in the previous section seemed to suggest that in this case it is indeed IP that is deleted by sluicing, and not CP_2. Given the implementation I have adopted here, that is only possible if the [E]-feature can be syntactically fully licensed in its lower position (i.e. on $C_2°$), so that it does not have to raise to $C_1°$. If it stays on $C_2°$, it will trigger deletion of IP. That means that only in the case of minimal wh-phrases, the [E]-feature should have a way of checking its [+Q]-feature in situ (i.e. on $C_2°$). What I want to suggest is that it is the minimal wh-phrase itself (which is marked for [+Op,+Q]) that checks the [+Q]-feature of [E]. As a result, [E] can stay on $C_2°$, and IP is deleted. This is represented in (29).[13] This option is not available in the case of complex wh-phrases, because the empty operator occupying specCP_2 does not bear a [+Q]-feature (recall that it is the complex wh-phrase itself that bears this feature). This means that in this case [E] is forced to raise to $C_1°$ in order to be licensed and as a result, CP_2 is deleted.

(29)



5.2.4 A Remaining Issue: Spading and e-GIVENness

In this final section, I discuss the identification or recoverability requirement of the [E]-feature in spading.[14] I will argue that the deletion process I have postulated in the analysis of spading is recoverable. Recall that Merchant argues that a phrase can only be elided if it has an appropriate antecedent. The technical notion he uses to formalize this constraint is e-GIVENness. Consider the relevant definitions in (30)–(32).

(30) e-GIVENness (Merchant 2001:31):

An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo ∃-type shifting,

(i) A entails the F-closure of E, and

(ii) E entails the F-closure of A.

(31) F-closure (Merchant 2001:14):
The F-closure of α, written F-clo(α), is the result of replacing F-marked parts of α with ∃-bound variables of the appropriate type (modulo ∃-type shifting).

(32) ∃-type shifting (Merchant 2001:14n3):
∃-type shifting is a type-shifting operation that raises expressions to type <t> and existentially binds unfilled arguments.

As an illustration of how these principles work and interact with one another, I will first apply them to the pseudogapping example in (33) (from Lasnik 1999b:142) before moving on to spading.

(33) I rolled up a newspaper and Lynn did a magazine.

I adopt the by now fairly standard account of pseudogapping, which analyzes it as an instance of VP-deletion with prior movement of a DP or PP (henceforth the remnant) out of the VP (see Gengel 2007, Jayaseelan 1990, Johnson 1996, Kennedy and Merchant 2000a, Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001c, Takahashi 2004, and the second case study in section 11.2.11, for some discussion). The precise technical details of the analysis are tangential to my concerns here (see the aforementioned references for fully worked out proposals), but for concreteness's sake I assume that the remnant adjoins to VP, and that it is the lower VP-segment that is deleted.[15] For the example in (33), this yields the partial structural representation in (34).

(34) I [$_{VP}$ rolled up a newspaper] and Lynn did [$_{VP}$ a magazine ~~[$_{VP}$ roll up t$_{a\ magazine}$]~~]

In this structure, the lower VP-segment of the second conjunct has been deleted. The question to ask in light of the preceding discussion is whether this deletion process is recoverable, that is, whether the elided VP is e-GIVEN. I will now proceed to show that it is, at the same time indicating the role played by each of the definitions in (30)–(32). The first notion that comes to the fore is that of ∃-type shifting. Given that entailment is a relation holding between propositions (Schwarzschild 1999:147), which are of type <t>, entailment fails to apply to (subjectless) VPs, which are of type <e,t>. This means that the representation of the VP in the first conjunct of the example in (33) (the antecedent VP, call it VP_A) is as in (35), where the subject position has been existentially bound.[16]

(35) VP_A' = ∃x.x rolled up a newspaper.

As for the elided VP (henceforth VP_E), the same reasoning applies, with one complication. The object position contains the trace of the moved DP *a magazine*. Following Merchant (2001:32), I represent this trace as an existentially bound variable of type <e>.[17] This means that the representation of VP_E is as in (36).

(36) VP_E' = ∃x∃y.x rolled up y

Next, the F-closures of VP_A and VP_E have to be determined. Their representation depends on identifying the F(ocus)-marked constituents of these VPs. Given that the example in (33) clearly involves a contrast between *a newspaper* on the one hand and *a magazine* on the other, it seems reasonable to identify these DPs as F-marked. This leads to the following representations for F-clo(VP_A) and F-clo (VP_E).

(37) a. F-clo(VP_A)' = ∃x∃y.x rolled up y
b. F-clo(VP_E)' = ∃x∃y.x rolled up y

At this point it can be determined whether VP_E is e-GIVEN. Recall that for this to be the case, the following two entailment relations have to hold (modulo ∃-type shifting).

(38) a. VP_A entails F-clo(VP_E)
b. VP_E entails F-clo(VP_A)

Overlooking the representations in (35)–(37), it is clear that both requirements are met. The first entailment relation holds because if it is true that someone rolls up a newspaper, then it is equally true that someone rolls up something, and the second entailment relation holds trivially because VP_E = F-clo (VP_A). This means that VP_E is e-GIVEN and that the deletion illustrated in (34) is properly licensed.

With this much as background, I can now return to the main question of this section: is the elided phrase in spading e-GIVEN? In order to make this question more precise, consider the example in (39).

(39) A: [$_{IPA}$ Jef eid iemand gezien.]
Jeff has someone seen

B: Wou da ~~[$_{IPE}$ t_{da} is t_{wou} da Jef gezien eit]~~?
who $that_{DEM}$ is $that_{C°}$ Jeff seen has

'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?' [Wambeek Dutch]

IP_E is e-GIVEN if and only if IP_A entails F-clo(IP_E) and IP_E entails F-clo(IP_A). Determining the representation of IP_A is straightforward. Moreover, given that IP_A does not contain any F-marked constituents, the representation of F-clo(IP_A) is identical to that of IP_A. It is given in (40).[18]

(40) IP_A = F-clo(IP_A) = ∃x.Jeff saw x

The semantic representations of IP_E and its F-closure require somewhat more discussion. Not only does this IP contain a cleft structure; there are two additional complications. First of all, the pronoun occupying the subject position in the matrix clause of the cleft is not the expletive personal pronoun *'t* 'it' but rather the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'. Second, this demonstrative pronoun has been focus-moved out of the ellipsis site, leaving a trace in its original position. I discuss

each of these issues in turn, but first I have to introduce my basic semantic representation of clefts. It is not my intention here to venture very deeply into this issue, nor does this seem necessary for my purposes here, so I will limit myself to a rough-and-ready representation that is able to capture the basic facts. Although the literature on clefts is vast and very diverse, two very basic observations seem to be shared by all. They are listed in (41) ((41)a is taken from Lambrecht 2001:466 and (41)b from Delin 1992:289).

(41) a. A cleft expresses a simple proposition via a biclausal syntax.
b. A cleft conveys a logical presupposition.

By way of illustration, consider the data in (42). The (biclausal) cleft in (42)a expresses the (simple) proposition in (42)b and conveys the logical presupposition in (42)c.

(42) a. It is Julia that Ed invited.
b. Ed invited Julia.
c. Ed invited someone.

I will translate the two key observations in (41) into my representation of clefts in a direct way, by assuming that the matrix clause of a cleft contains a hidden presupposition predicate, which predicates over the embedded clause. This is illustrated in (43)b for the cleft in (43)a.[19]

(43) a. Wou is ‘t da Jef gezien eit?
who is it that$_{C°}$ Jeff seen has
‘Who is it that Jeff saw?’ [Wambeek Dutch]
b. ∃x∃P.Jeff saw x and PRESUPPOSED(P) and P = ∃y.Jeff saw y

This representation captures the fact that the cleft in (43)a presupposes that Jeff saw someone, as well as the fact that it expresses a simple proposition through a complex syntax: the embedded clause expresses the main proposition; the matrix clause adds the presupposition through a higher-order predication.

At this point, I can add the first complication: the pronoun in the matrix clause of a cleft underlying spading is not the personal pronoun *‘t* ‘it’ but rather the demonstrative pronoun *da* ‘that’. In order to see what the implications are of this switch for the representation in (43)b, it is necessary to compare the two types of clefts more generally. As it turns out, there are two major distinctions between clefts containing *‘t* ‘it’ and those containing *da* ‘that’.[20] First of all, whereas *da* ‘that’ can be stressed in clefts with a wh-pivot, *‘t* ‘it’ cannot (not even when its full form *het* is used). This is illustrated in (44).

(44) a. Wou is DA da Jef gezien eit?!
who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ Jeff seen has
‘Who on earth is it that Jeff saw?!’

b. * Wou is HET da Jef gezien eit?!
who is it dat$_{C°}$ Jeff seen has

[Wambeek Dutch]

I take this to mean that whereas *'t* 'it' is a true expletive, *da* 'that' is not (though see note 22 for some speculations on the semantic contribution of *'t* 'it'). What I will argue is that *da* 'that' is anaphoric to the preceding statement (see also section 5.2.1). The second difference between the two types of clefts also points in this direction. It concerns the fact (already pointed out in chapter 3, section 3.2.6.4, note 16) that whereas *da*-clefts require an overt linguistic antecedent, *'t*-clefts do not. Reconsider the context set up in chapter 3, section 3.2.6.4: a contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise. She is given five minutes to think about the issue, after which the game show host walks up to her holding a picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand. In this context, the game show host can felicitously utter the cleft in (45)b, but not the one in (45)a. This indicates that the demonstrative pronoun in (45)a refers back to the preceding statement. When there is no such statement, the cleft is disallowed.[21]

(45) a. # Wou is da da ge gekeuzen etj?
who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ you chosen have
'Who is it that you have chosen?'

b. Wou is 't da ge gekeuzen etj?
who is it dat$_{C°}$ you chosen have
'Who is it that you have chosen?'

[Wambeek Dutch]

This suggests that clefts that contain a demonstrative pronoun in the matrix clause impose a stronger restriction on the embedded CP than mere presuppositionality. The embedded CP does not have to be merely presupposed, it has to be anaphoric on a proposition present in the preceding discourse. I take this to mean that *da*-clefts contain a different hidden predicate than *'t*-clefts. I will call this predicate ANAPHORIC.[22] This yields the representation in (46)b for the *da*-cleft in (46)a.

(46) a. Wou is da da Jef gezien eit?
who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ Jeff seen has
'Who is it that Jeff saw?'

[Wambeek Dutch]

b. ∃x∃P.Jeff saw x and ANAPHORIC(P) and P = ∃y.Jeff saw y

The final step in the reasoning concerns the fact that *da* 'that' has focus-moved out of the ellipsis site (i.e. the second complication I have pointed out). Given that I represent traces of movement as existentially bound variables of the appropriate type (see earlier) and given that the contribution of the demonstrative to the cleft is the anaphoricity, the hidden predicate ANAPHORIC has to be replaced by an existentially bound variable. Applied to the elided IP in my original example (repeated here

as (47)), this yields the representation in (48). Moreover, given that the structure contains no other F-marked constituents, the representation of F-clo(IP_E) is identical to that of IP_E.

(47) A: [$_{IPA}$ Jef eid iemand gezien.]
Jeff has someone seen

B: Wou da ~~[$_{IPE}$ t_{da} is t_{wou} da Jef gezien eit]~~ ?
who that$_{DEM}$ is that$_{C°}$ Jeff seen has

'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?' [Wambeek Dutch]

(48) IP_E = F-clo(IP_E) = ∃Q∃x∃P.Jeff.saw x and Q(P) and P = ∃y.Jeff saw y

At this point, I can determine whether IP_E is e-GIVEN in the example in (47). Recall that for this to be the case, the two entailment relations in (49) have to hold.

(49) a. IP_A entails F-clo(IP_E)
b. IP_E entails F-clo(IP_A)

Given that both IP_A and IP_E are identical to their F-closures, however, this double requirement can be reformulated as the constraint that there be a mutual entailment relation between the two representations in (50).

(50) a. IP_A = F-clo(IP_A) = ∃x.Jeff saw x
b. IP_E = F-clo(IP_E) = ∃Q∃x.Jeff saw x and Q(P) and P = ∃y.Jeff saw y

Given that a conjunction entails each of its conjuncts, the entailment relation from (50)b to (50)a holds trivially. The other entailment relation requires a bit more discussion. When Jeff saw someone, it is true that Jeff saw someone. However, it is equally true that there is at least some property that holds of the proposition 'Jeff saw someone' (e.g. the property of being identical to itself). This means that the mutual entailment relation holds, that IP_E is e-GIVEN, and that the ellipsis operation I postulated in my analysis of spading is fully recoverable.

As I already indicated, the entailment relation from (50)a to (50)b is the least straightforward of the two. Interestingly, however, there is independent evidence supporting precisely this entailment relation. It concerns deaccenting. As Merchant (2001:chap. 1) discusses, the conditions on deaccenting an IP are similar to but less strict than those on nonpronouncing (i.e. deleting) it. More specifically, for an IP to be deaccented, it has to be entailed by an antecedent IP, but the reverse entailment relation need not hold.[23] That explains the contrast in (51): in neither case does IP_2 entail IP_1 (while the reverse entailment relation holds), but this state of affairs only leads to ungrammaticality in the example involving sluicing (i.e. deletion), not in the one in which IP_2 is merely deaccented (indicated by underlining).

(51) a. [$_{IP1}$ Abby called BEN an idiot], but I don't know who ELSE [$_{IP2}$ she insulted t].
b. *[$_{IP1}$ Abby called BEN an idiot], but I don't know who ELSE [$_{IP2}$ ~~she insulted t~~]

This means that deaccenting facts can be used to test whether there is an entailment relation between two IPs. Specifically, if my account so far is on the right track and the elided IP in spading is e-GIVEN, this leads to the prediction that it should be possible to deaccent a cleft with a demonstrative pronoun in a sluicing environment. The example in (52) illustrates that this prediction is borne out.[24]

(52)	Jef	eid	iemand	gezien,							
	Jeff	has	someone	seen							
	mo	ik	weet	nie	WOU	da	da	was	dat-n	gezien	eit
	but	I	know	not	who	that$_{C°}$	that$_{DEM}$	was	that$_{C°}$-he	seen	has

‘Jeff saw someone, but I don’t know who it was that he saw.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

This example shows that an IP containing a cleft with a demonstrative pronoun in the matrix subject position can be deaccented in a sluicing environment. Given that such deaccenting is only possible if there is an antecedent IP that entails the deaccented IP, this example provides independent evidence for the entailment relation from (50)a to (50)b.

Summing up, in this section I have discussed the identification or recoverability requirement on the ellipsis process involved in spading. I have shown that this deletion is indeed recoverable and that the deleted IP is e-GIVEN. Moreover, I have presented deaccenting facts as independent evidence in favor of the crucial entailment relation involved.

5.2.5 Conclusion

In the preceding sections, I have presented an analysis of dialect Dutch spading. I have argued that the possibility of stranding a demonstrative pronoun to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase follows straightforwardly from the split CP account adopted earlier. The demonstrative raises to the lower CP-layer, which is not contained in the ellipsis site. Moreover, I have shown that sluicing does not always delete the same subpart of the clausal structure. That explains why spading is allowed in some contexts but not in others. Both options follow naturally from the interaction between the split CP-proposal from the previous chapter and the syntax of sluicing. Finally, I have argued in detail that the ellipsis operation I make use of in my analysis of spading is fully recoverable.[25]

5.3 English Swiping

Just as I did in the previous section, I start out here by going step by step through the derivation of a representative example (in section 5.3.1), so as to illustrate the core of the analysis. Then (in section 5.3.2), I return to the basic properties of swiping as I have outlined them earlier, showing how the analysis accounts for them.

5.3.1 The Analysis

Consider again a basic swiping example in (53).

(53) A: Ed wrote a book.
B: What about?

I assume that the derivation of B's reply in (53) starts out parallel to that of the nonelliptical wh-question *About what did Ed write a book?* (or its variant with preposition stranding). I pick up this derivation at the IP-level and proceed step by step from there. Consider the partial structural representation in (54).

(54) [$_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$]]

In this structure, the PP *about what* is in its IP-internal base position inside the object DP *a book about what*. The wh-phrase *what* bears [+Op,+Q]-features. The next step in the derivation involves the merger of $C_2°$. This head bears a strong [+Op]-feature.

(55) [$_{C2'}$ $C_2°_{[+Op.strong]}$ [$_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$]]]

$C_2°$ attracts the wh-phrase *what* to its specifier. Moreover, *what* pied-pipes the preposition *about,* so that the entire PP *about what* surfaces in specCP$_2$. This is shown in (56).

(56) [$_{CP2}$ [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$] [$_{C2'}$ $C_2°$~~$_{[+Op.strong]}$~~ [$_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$]]]]

Next, $C_1°$ is merged. It bears a strong [+Q]-feature (see (57)), and it attracts the wh-phrase *what* to specCP$_1$, stranding the preposition *about* in specCP$_2$. This is represented in (58).

(57) [$_{C1'}$ $C_1°_{[+Q.strong]}$ [$_{CP2}$ [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$] [$_{C2'}$ $C_2°$~~$_{[+Op.strong]}$~~ [$_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$]]]]]

(58) [$_{CP1}$ what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ [$_{C1'}$ $C_1°$~~$_{[+Q.strong]}$~~ [$_{CP2}$ [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$] [$_{C2'}$ $C_2°$~~$_{[+Op.strong]}$~~ [$_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$]]]]]]

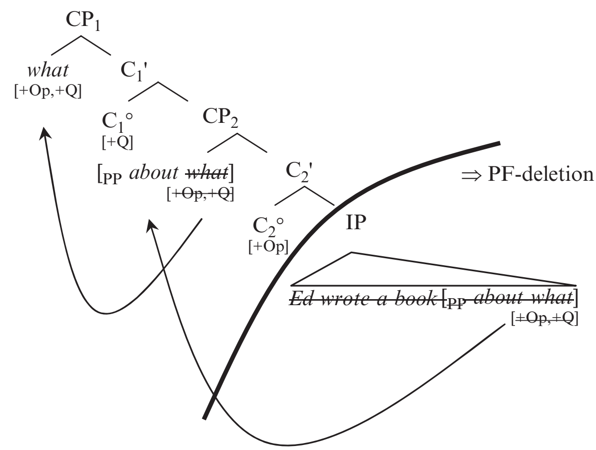
Finally, at PF the IP is elided (i.e. sluiced), as is the copy of *what* in specCP$_2$. The end result is shown in (59).

(59) [$_{CP1}$ what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ [$_{C1'}$ $C_1°_{[+Q.strong]}$ [$_{CP2}$ [$_{PP}$ about ~~what~~$_{[+Op,+Q]}$] [$_{C2'}$ $C_2°_{[+Op.strong]}$ ~~[$_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$]]~~]]]]

What remains, then, is the sluiced wh-phrase *what* followed by the (stranded) preposition *about;* that is, the derivation sketched in (54)–(59) has successfully

yielded an instance of swiping in English. The tree structure in (60) is another illustration of the same derivation.

(60)



5.3.2 The Basic Properties of Swiping Revisited

In this section, I return to the basic properties of swiping discussed earlier and repeated in (61), determining the extent to which they are accounted for under the analysis proposed in the previous section.

(61) Basic properties of English swiping:

a. Swiping only occurs in sluicing.
b. Swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases.
c. A swiped preposition bears stress.
d. Swiping only affects prepositions that have no antecedent.

I begin by discussing the property in (61)a. What I want to propose is that the fact that swiping only occurs in sluicing follows from the fact that sluicing is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation. In other words, swiping represents yet another case of a repair effect induced by ellipsis. In order to see precisely which violation is involved and how ellipsis is able to nullify its effects, consider the example in (62).

(62) * Who$_i$ do you think [$_{CP}$ [$_{PP}$ for t$_i$]$_k$ C° [$_{IP}$ she bought it t$_k$]]?

This example shows that preposition stranding is not allowed in intermediate landing sites of successive-cyclic wh-movement in English (as was first observed by Postal 1972). Interestingly, this sentence is *mutatis mutandis* identical to the stage in the derivation of swiping where the wh-phrase has been subextracted

from the PP in specCP$_2$ on its way to specCP$_1$. I repeat the relevant representation here as (63).

(63) [$_{CP1}$ what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ [$_{C1'}$ C$_1$°~~[+Q.strong]~~ [$_{CP2}$ [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$] [$_{C2'}$ C$_2$°~~[+Op.strong]~~ [$_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$]]]]]]

Both in (62) and in (63), a preposition has been stranded in an intermediate landing site of successive-cyclic wh-movement. As a result, the derivation in (54)–(59) should be as ungrammatical as the example in (62). The fact that it is not illustrates the repair effect induced by ellipsis.

Under Chomsky's (1995) conception of Form Chain, successive-cyclic movement counts as one single operation. This means that the chain created by such movement should be considered a single syntactic object. Assume now that the notion of Chain Uniformity (in the sense of Chomsky 1995:91) applies not only at LF but also at PF. Specifically, PF requires chains to be uniform with respect to a number of characteristics (arguably for linearization purposes). One such characteristic is category. This means that a chain such as the one schematically represented in (64) is ill formed.

(64) … DP … [$_{PP}$ P DP] … [$_{PP}$ P DP]

However, if the lowest of these three chain links somehow becomes invisible to PF, all that is left is a (uniform) chain that contains only DP-links, and Chain Uniformity is restored. This is exemplified in (65), where the blackened area has been deleted at PF.

(65) … DP … [$_{PP}$ P DP] … [$_{PP}$ P DP]

This, I want to argue, is precisely what happens in the derivation of the swiping example I have presented. Given that ellipsis (in this case sluicing) deletes all the IP-internal copies of the PP *about what,* the only chain visible to PF is the DP-chain created by the movement of *what* from specCP$_2$ to specCP$_1$, and Chain Uniformity is respected. In the example in (62), the lower PP-copies have not been deleted, Chain Uniformity is violated, and the example is ungrammatical.[26]

The second property of swiping concerns the fact that it only targets minimal wh-phrases. Not surprisingly, this follows from the interaction between the analysis of swiping and the view on the CP-domain outlined earlier (in chapter 4). Recall that I have argued that while minimal wh-phrases move from their IP-internal base position through specCP$_2$ onto specCP$_1$, complex wh-phrases are base-generated in specCP$_1$ and involve empty operator movement to specCP$_2$. The implication of

this, however, is that complex wh-phrases cannot strand a preposition in $specCP_2$. Moreover, given that sluicing with complex wh-phrases deletes CP_2 rather than IP (see section 5.2.3), there is simply no way a preposition can be spelled out to the right of a sluiced complex wh-phrase, not even if—by some exceptional mechanism—it would be able to move to $specCP_2$ independently of the complex wh-phrase (e.g. pied-piped by the empty operator, an operation normally disallowed). In short, the ban on complex wh-phrases in swiping follows straightforwardly from the theory outlined here.

The final two properties of swiping—the fact that swiped prepositions bear stress and that swiping is disallowed when there is an antecedent for the preposition—I will discuss together, since it seems reasonable to assume that they are both manifestations of the same underlying generalization. Specifically, both these properties seem to indicate that swiped prepositions are focused. The close correlation between focus and stress has often been noted; and (at least one type of) foci are often said to represent "new information," that is, information for which no antecedent is available. What I want to argue is that the focus interpretation that swiped prepositions acquire follows naturally from the structural position in which they are stranded. Recall from the discussion of spading in section 5.2.1 that $specCP_2$ is the position targeted by focus movement. Given that it is precisely in this projection that swiped prepositions are stranded, it seems plausible that they should receive a focus interpretation. In other words, the interpretation they receive correlates with the structural position they occupy. Once again, then, the basic properties of swiping fall out straightforwardly from the current analysis.

Summing up, in this section I have revisited the basic properties of swiping, indicating how each of them follows naturally from the analysis given in section 5.3.1 in conjunction with the split CP-account presented earlier.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an analysis of the two instances of stranding under sluicing that form the main empirical focus of this first case study. In each case, the interaction between a PF-deletion analysis of sluicing and the split CP-account of chapter 4 turned out to be crucial. Specifically, I have demonstrated two mechanisms through which a phrase can come to be stranded to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. First, it can move independently of the wh-phrase to a low CP-layer (in my analysis $specCP_2$) that is not (or not always) contained in the ellipsis site. This was the fate of the focus-moved demonstrative pronoun in spading. Second, it can be stranded in such a low CP-layer by the wh-phrase on its way to the higher specCP. This featured in the analysis of swiping, where the swiped preposition was stranded in $specCP_2$. Moreover, an in-depth investigation of the interaction between the syntax of the CP-domain and that of sluicing led to the conclusion that sluicing does not always delete the same subpart of the clausal structure. This in turn explained why stranding under sluicing is allowed in only a limited number of cases. If the lower CP-layer is contained in the ellipsis site, any material stranded in that projection will also be elided.

Furthermore, the analyses presented in the preceding sections succeed in identifying a common source for the similarities between spading and swiping (see chapter 3, section 3.4). First, the fact that both these constructions only occur in sluicing follows from the fact that in both cases, sluicing is crucially needed to repair what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation. Second, the fact that they both only target minimal wh-phrases follows from the interaction between the syntax of sluicing and the structure of the CP-domain (see supra). Third, the fact that both swiped prepositions and spaded demonstratives are focused follows from the fact that they occupy the same structural position. Clearly, this partial structural unification of spading and swiping is a highly desirable result. In the next chapter, I consider the relation between these two constructions from the point of view of one single language: Frisian.

6

When Spading Met Swiping

The Case of Frisian

6.1 A Combination of Swiping and Spading

Nothing in the analyses presented so far would prevent spading and swiping from co-occurring in one and the same language. In this chapter, I demonstrate that Frisian is such a language. Consider a combined spading/swiping example in (1).

(1)	A:	Jan	hat	juster	in	praatsje	holden.
		John	has	yesterday	a	talk	held
	B:	Wêr	dat	oer?			
		where	that$_{\text{DEM}}$	about			

‘A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?’ [Frisian]

In B’s reply in this dialogue, a sluiced wh-phrase (in this case the R-pronoun *wêr* ‘where’) is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *dat* ‘that’, which is in turn followed by the stranded preposition *oer* ‘about’. As such, this example combines spading with swiping. In this chapter, I show that the analysis of this construction is the combination of a spading and a swiping analysis.

Before I can proceed to demonstrate this, a closer inspection of both constructions in isolation is in order. Especially Frisian swiping will require some discussion, as it differs in certain respects from its English counterpart. These differences, I will argue, follow from independent properties of the two languages.

6.2 Frisian Spading

About spading in Frisian I can be brief. Apart from the fact that their dialect Dutch counterparts do not combine with swiping (a point I return to below), there is no difference between spading in Frisian and spading in the Dutch dialects I have discussed.[1] In other words, all the properties of dialect Dutch spading reported in chapter 3 hold for Frisian as well. As a (nonexhaustive) illustration of this claim, consider the data in (2).

(2) a. A: Ik ha juster ien sjoen. B: Wa dat?
I have yesterday someone seen who that$_{\text{DEM}}$
'A: I saw someone yesterday. B: Who?'

b. Mei wa (*dat) stie Jan juster te praten?
with who that$_{\text{DEM}}$ stood John yesterday to talk
'Who was John talking to yesterday?'

c. A: Ik haw in boek fan Jan liend.
I have a book of John borrowed
B: Hokker boek (*dat)?
which book that$_{\text{DEM}}$
'A: I borrowed a book from John. B: Which book?'

d. Wa DAT? / * WA dat?
who that$_{\text{DEM}}$ / who that$_{\text{DEM}}$
'Who?'

e. A: Jan hie net allinnich Pyt útnoege.
John had not only Pete invited
B: (i) Nee? Wa noch mear (*dat)?
no who else more that$_{\text{DEM}}$
(ii) * Nee? Wa noch mear wie dat dy't erútnoege hie?
no who else more was that$_{\text{DEM}}$ REL.that$_{\text{C°he}}$ invited had

'A: John hadn't just invited Pete. B: No? Who else? [Frisian]

While (2)a illustrates a grammatical instance of spading in Frisian, (2)b demonstrates that wh-phrases in nonelliptical wh-questions cannot be followed by the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that'. That is, Frisian spading only occurs in sluicing. The example in (2)c shows that Frisian spading is disallowed with complex wh-phrases; (2)d exemplifies the fact that a spaded demonstrative pronoun bears stress. Finally, the dialogue in (2)e illustrates that Frisian spading stems from an underlying cleft with a wh-pivot. This is corroborated here by means of modification of the wh-phrase by *noch mear* 'else', which is allowed in regular sluicing (see (2)eB(i)) but disallowed in spading (see (2)eB(i)) and in clefts with a wh-pivot (see (2)eB(ii)). Moreover, just like its dialect Dutch counterpart, Frisian spading induces what I have described above as a surprise-reading. Summing up, the main properties of Frisian spading can be listed as in (3).

(3) Basic properties of Frisian spading:
a. Spading contains a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer.
b. Spading only occurs in sluicing.
c. Spading only targets minimal wh-phrases.
d. The demonstrative pronoun in spading bears stress.
e. Spading induces a 'surprise'-reading.
f. Spading stems from an underlying cleft.

6.3 Frisian Swiping

At first sight, swiping appears to be disallowed in Frisian. This was pointed out by Merchant (2002), who gives the following example (Merchant 2002:310).

(4) * Per is nei de bioskoop gien, mar ik wyt net wa mei.
Per is to the cinema gone but I know not who with [Frisian]

The conclusion that Frisian lacks swiping altogether has obvious repercussions for the main topic of this chapter. It would mean that the example in (1) (repeated in (5)) is not an instance of spading combined with swiping but rather of some other not yet identified elliptical construction.

(5) A: Jan hat juster in praatsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held
B: Wêr dat oer?
where that_{DEM} about
'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?' [Frisian]

The sentence in (4) does not represent the full paradigm of noncomplex wh-expressions in Frisian, however. Just like Dutch, Frisian has a set of so-called R-pronouns, which form a subset of what I have been calling minimal wh-phrases. Consider a relevant example in (6).

(6) Jan hat juster in praatsje holden, mar ik wyt net wêroer
John has yesterday a talk held but I know not where.about
'John gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about' [Frisian]

On the basis of this example, it is less straightforward to decide whether or not Frisian has swiping. Given that R-pronouns only co-occur with *post*positions and not with *pre*positions (see Hoekstra 1995), the example in (6) could represent either a structure where the entire PP *wêroer* 'about what' has moved to the left periphery or one in which the preposition *oer* 'about' has been swiped (assuming the Frisian orthography to be uninformative in this respect). In what follows, I suggest that the example in (6) is indeed structurally ambiguous in the way I have indicated, that there is an independent reason why swiping is

disallowed in (4), and that this independent restriction can—at least for some speakers—be lifted when swiping is combined with spading.

Recall that a swiped preposition bears stress. In fact, I have argued that both the stress on the preposition and the fact that it is not allowed to have an antecedent when swiped follow from the fact that swiped prepositions are focused. Interestingly, Hoekstra (1991, 1995) points out that English and Frisian differ with respect to whether or not a preposition stranded by wh-movement can be stressed. Consider the data in (7)–(9) (these examples are taken from Hoekstra 1995:109–110).[2]

(7) What is that book ABOUT?

(8) a. Wêr giet dat boek OER?
where goes that book over
'What is that book ABOUT?'

b. * Wa giet dat boek OER?
who goes that book over
INTENDED MEANING: 'Who is that book ABOUT?' [Frisian]

(9) a. WA giet dat boek oer?
WHO goes that book over
'Who is that book about?'

b. Wa giet dat BOEK oer?
who goes that book over
'Who is that BOOK about?' [Frisian]

The example in (7) illustrates that a stranded preposition can be stressed in English. This correlates nicely with the fact that swiped prepositions (which, I have argued, are also stranded) can—and in fact must—also be stressed. The minimal pair in (8), on the other hand, illustrates that not all minimal wh-phrases in Frisian follow the English pattern. Specifically, while prepositions stranded by R-pronouns can be stressed ((8)a), those stranded by non-R wh-pronouns such as *wa* 'who' cannot ((8)b). The data in (9) are control sentences demonstrating that the ungrammaticality of (8)b is indeed caused by its stress pattern: as soon as the stress shifts, the sentence becomes acceptable. What is important from my perspective here, however, is the prediction these data make with respect to the possibility of swiping in Frisian. If a preposition stranded by *wa* 'who' cannot be stressed, *wa* is predicted not to occur in swiping, since swiped prepositions are obligatorily stressed. This means the data in (8)b provide an independent explanation for the ungrammaticality of the example in (4). Moreover, the fact that the sentence in (8)a *is* acceptable lends plausibility to the claim that the example in (6) is ambiguous between regular sluicing and swiping.[3]

This claim becomes even more plausible in light of examples that combine swiping with spading. Reconsider the sentence I gave in section 6.1 (repeated here), this time in combination with its nonswiping counterpart.

(10) A: Jan hat juster in praatsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held

B: a. Wêr dat oer?
where that$_{DEM}$ about

b. ? Wêroer dat?
where.about that$_{DEM}$

'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?' [Frisian]

The two possible replies of speaker B differ only in whether or not the preposition *oer* 'about' is pied-piped by the wh-phrase *wêr* 'where' past the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that'.[4] This means that spading can be used to disambiguate examples such as the one in (6). If both the R-pronoun and the preposition precede the demonstrative pronoun, the sentence represents an instance of regular sluicing; if R-pronoun and preposition surface on opposite sides of the demonstrative, the preposition has been swiped. Interestingly, in precisely this context (i.e. in combination with spading), some Frisian speakers allow even non-R wh-pronouns to swipe their preposition. Compare the two possible replies of speaker B in the dialogue in (11).[5]

(11) A: Jan stie juster mei ien te praten.
John stood yesterday with someone to talk

B: a. * Wa mei?
who with

b. %Wa dat mei?
who that$_{DEM}$ with

'A: John was talking to someone yesterday. B: Who?' [Frisian]

I propose to account for the contrast in (11) as well as for the variability of the judgments in (11)Bb as follows. The first thing to note is that in an example that combines spading with swiping, the stress falls on the demonstrative pronoun rather than on the swiped preposition; that is, the pattern is wh-DEM-prep, and not wh-dem-PREP. Assume now that for some speakers, this suffices to lift the ban on swiping with non-R wh-pronouns. Recall that Frisian disallows stranded prepositions to be stressed (see earlier). As a result, swiping will only be allowed if stress on the swiped preposition can be avoided. Given that in spading it is the demonstrative pronoun that "absorbs" the stress, they provide exactly the right context, and swiping is allowed when combined with spading. The other group of speakers, for whom there is no or only a slight contrast between (11)Ba and (11)Bb, impose a much stronger restriction on prepositions stranded by non-R wh-pronouns. Not only can they not be stressed, they are also not allowed to occur in a structural focus position. This rules out all instances of swiping with non-R wh-pronouns, regardless of whether it combines with spading. Both in (11)Ba and in (11)Bb, the swiped preposition is—at least under the account I have presented—stranded in a structural

focus position (i.e. specCP$_2$), and hence both examples are ruled out for this second group of speakers.[6]

There is an extra indication that the reply in (11)Bb should indeed be analyzed as a combination of spading and swiping, rather than as some other as yet unidentified construction. It concerns the behavior of complex wh-phrases like *hokker boek* 'which book'. Consider the data in (12) (the examples in (12)b and (12)c are from Hoekstra 1995:110).

(12) a. A: Jan hat juster in praatsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held

B: * Hokker boek oer?
which book about

b. * Hokker tiidrek giet dat boek OER?
which era goes that book about

c. Hokker tiidrek GIET dat boek oer?
which era goes that book about
'Which era is that book about?'

d. A: Jan hat juster in praatsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held
B: * Hokker boek dat oer?
which book that$_{\text{DEM}}$ about

[Frisian]

The examples in (12)a and (12)b indicate that with respect to the first two criteria, complex wh-phrases behave like their minimal counterparts. They do not partake in "bare" swiping (12)a and prepositions stranded by complex wh-phrases cannot be stressed. (See (12)b and compare again with the control sentence in (12)c, which has a different stress pattern and is well formed.) The d-example, however, shows that the improvement noted for the reply in (11)Bb is absent for complex wh-phrases. Given that I have argued that complex wh-phrases are—for independent reasons—disallowed both in spading and in swiping, this example forms a further indication that the construction exemplified in (11)Bb is indeed a combination of spading and swiping.

Summing up, in this section I have argued that although Frisian appears to lack swiping at first sight, a closer inspection of the data reveals that there is an independent restriction on stranded prepositions that rules out a subset of the swiping cases. Moreover, I have shown that for some speakers this independent restriction can be overruled when swiping is combined with spading. In the next section, I provide an analysis of such "combined" examples.

6.4 The Analysis

Having established that an example such as the one in (1) (repeated here as (13)) is indeed a combination of spading and swiping, the analysis of this sentence should

follow straightforwardly from the analyses presented in the chapter 5. In this section, I show that this is indeed the case.

(13) A: Jan hat juster in praatsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held

B: Wêr dat oer?
where that_{DEM} about

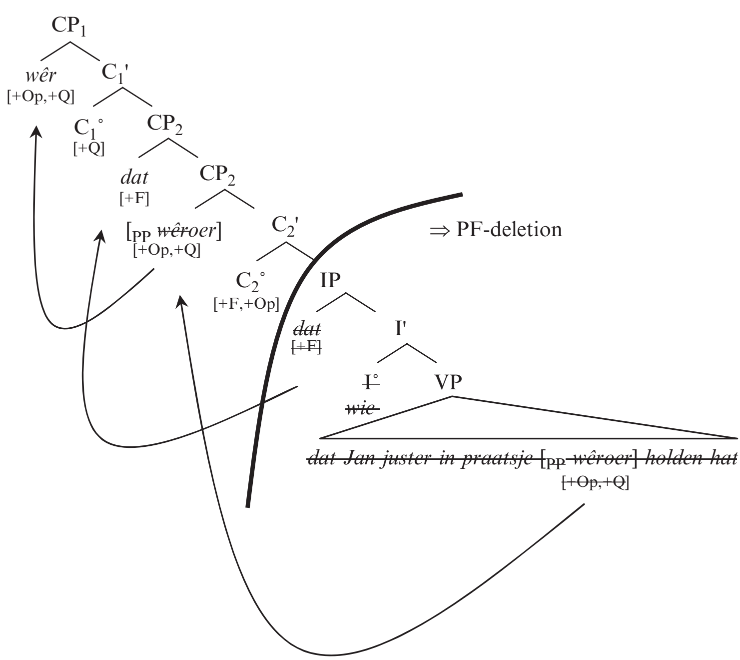
'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: About what?' [Frisian]

Given that just as its dialect Dutch counterpart, Frisian spading can be shown to derive from an underlying cleft structure (see section 6.2), the derivation of B's reply in (13) will start out as that of the cleft in (14).

(14) Wêr wie dat oer dat Jan juster in praatsje holden hat?
where was that_{DEM} about $\text{that}_{\text{C°}}$ John yesterday a talk held has
'What was it that John gave a talk about yesterday?' [Frisian]

The main steps of this derivation are schematically represented in the tree structure in (15).

(15)



Just as was the case with dialect Dutch spading, the first relevant step in this derivation (i.e. the first step distinguishing spading from nonelliptical clefts with a wh-pivot) involves the overt movement of the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that' to specCP_2 to check the weak focus-feature on $C_2°$. This move is only allowed because the lower part of the movement chain will later be elided; that is, ellipsis (in this case sluicing) is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation. Next, the wh-phrase *wêroer* 'about what' moves to the inner specifier of $C_2°$ to check its [+Op]-feature. The wh-pronoun *wêr* 'where' then moves on its own to specCP_1 to check the [+Q]-feature on $C_1°$, stranding the preposition *oer* 'about' in specCP_2. This intermediate stranding is only allowed because ellipsis (sluicing) will later delete all the lower PP-copies of the movement chain. In other words, this is the second point in the derivation where the repair effect induced by ellipsis plays a crucial role. At the final stage of the derivation, the IP is PF-deleted (i.e. sluiced), and so is the copy of the wh-pronoun *wêr* 'where' in specCP_2. The end result is the sequence wh-phrase < demonstrative < preposition; that is, the derivation has yielded a combination of spading and swiping.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that Frisian has both spading and swiping and moreover that these constructions can co-occur in one and the same sentence. The analysis I have proposed for such examples is a combination of a spading and a swiping analysis. At the same time I have shown that variation as to whether a stranded preposition can be stressed has an effect on the cross-linguistic distribution of swiping. That also explains—at least to a certain extent—why Frisian is the only language I have been able to find in which the two phenomena can be seen to co-occur (see also note 6 for discussion).

7

Previous Analyses

7.1 Overview

In this chapter, I present and discuss previous analyses both of spading and of swiping. Specifically, in section 7.2, I discuss Hoekstra's (1993) account of spading, as well as a straw man analysis that tries to unify spading with pseudosluicing (Merchant 1998). In section 7.3, I discuss the analyses of swiping given in Kim (1997), Richards (2001), Merchant (2002), and Hartman (2007).

7.2 Previous Analyses of Spading

7.2.1 Hoekstra (1993)

As far as I have been able to ascertain, Hoekstra (1993) is the only account to date of spading. The language he focuses on is Frisian. In what follows, I present and critically review this analysis. I point out some data that are problematic for his account and show how the arguments he presents in favor of his proposal can be accounted for under my analysis as well.

Hoekstra proposes to analyze the *dat*-element that occurs to the right of the sluiced wh-phrase in spading not as a full-fledged demonstrative pronoun (as I have argued), but rather as a hybrid category that he terms "demonstrative complementizer" (Hoekstra 1993:10). Specifically, *dat* is like the regular demonstrative pronoun, in that it refers back to the preceding discourse and represents all the old information in the sentence, but it is unlike normal demonstratives, in that it does not perform any of the grammatical functions that DPs normally have. Instead, it is merged as a C°-head in the (extended) left periphery, so that spading

is in all relevant respects identical to doubly filled COMP filter violations in embedded wh-questions (the only difference being that in embedded wh-questions, the complementizer *dat* is reduced to *'t*). There are two main arguments in support of this analysis. Consider first the data in (1) and (2) (Hoekstra 1993:3, 9–10).

(1) a. Wa dat?
who that
'Who?'

b. Tsjin wa dat?
against who that
'Against whom?'

c. * Hokker stik dat?
which article that [Frisian]

(2) a. Hy frege, wa 't jûn kaam.
he asked who that tonight came
'He asked who come tonight.'

b. Hja koe har net yn 't sin bringe tsjin wa
she could her not in the mind bring against whom
't se soks sein hie.
that she such said had
'She couldn't remember who she had said such a thing to.'

c. * Ik frege, hokker stik 't se lêzen hie.
I asked which article that she read had [Frisian]

These examples illustrate that there is a perfect parallelism between the types of wh-phrases that can occur in spading (bare wh-pronouns and PPs containing them) and those that in doubly filled COMP contexts can be followed by *'t* 'that'. This is a first indication that *dat* in (1) and *'t* in (2) are one and the same element. Second, there is the data in (3) (Hoekstra 1993:11–12).

(3) a. * Wa deale dat?
who devil that

b. * Hy frege, wa deale 't de roltsjeredens op'e trep set hie.
he asked who devil that the roller.skates on.the staircase put had
'He asked who the devil had put the roller skates on the staircase.' [Frisian]

These examples show that both the *dat*-element in spading and the *'t*-complementizer in doubly filled COMP contexts are disallowed when the bare wh-pronoun is modified by an adverb-like element (in this case the aggressive non-D-linker *deale* 'the devil'). As such, these data constitute a second indication that the two are one and the same element. This concludes my overview of Hoekstra's (1993) analysis of spading.

A first point I want to raise concerns the categorial status of the element following the sluiced wh-phrase in spading. This is an issue I already discussed in

some detail in section 3.2.1 of chapter 3, so I can be fairly brief here. If spading in Frisian is to be assimilated to doubly filled COMP filter violations under sluicing, they are from a cross-linguistic point of view the odd one out. Merchant (2001:74–82) shows that generally speaking, the C°-position to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase remains silent, and he presents data from Slovene, Irish, and (colloquial) Danish, all three of which allow for doubly filled COMP filter violations in nonelliptical embedded wh-questions, to support this. Moreover, under a doubly filled COMP account of spading, the examples in (1) would represent matrix wh-questions featuring a complementizer, a situation otherwise unattested in Frisian. Furthermore, recall that dialects that morphologically distinguish the complementizer occurring in doubly filled COMP contexts from the demonstrative pronoun always use the latter in spading. Reconsider in this respect the data in (4) from the dialect of Nijeholtpade.

(4) a. Zo'k dat wel doen kunnen?
would.I that_{DEM} PRT do can
'Would I be able to do that?'

b. Wet iene wie as we reupen hebben?
knows anyone who $\text{that}_{\text{COMP}}$ we called have
'Does anyone know who we have called?'

c. Wie { dat / * as}?
who that_{DEM} / $\text{that}_{\text{COMP}}$
'Who?' [Nijeholtpade Dutch]

One could of course argue that, given that the relevant evidence is unavailable in Frisian (the complementizer and the demonstrative pronoun being as they are morphologically identical),[1] the argument does not hold for this language, and Frisian spading indeed features a (demonstrative) complementizer rather than a demonstrative pronoun. It is difficult to see what would be gained by such an approach, however. On the contrary, given that there are no empirical differences between Frisian spading and its dialect Dutch counterpart (see chapter 6, section 6.2), the null hypothesis seems to be that they represent the same construction and a generalization would be missed if one assumed otherwise.

A second issue concerns the grammatical status of the demonstrative pronoun. Recall that there is ample evidence, both from Frisian and from the Dutch spading dialects, that spading stems from an underlying cleft. Not only are these data very difficult to capture under Hoekstra's account, they also serve as counterevidence to his claim that the *dat*-element in spading does not perform any of the grammatical functions that DPs normally have. What I have argued is that *dat* occupies the specifier of the matrix IP making up the cleft. As such, it behaves syntactically like a full-fledged DP.

Third, it is unclear how the doubly filled COMP analysis of spading would be able to capture the similarities between this construction and swiping. The fact that both constructions only occur in sluicing, only target minimal wh-phrases, and involve stress on the stranded element follows naturally from the analyses I presented in

chapter 5, but it is difficult to see how an analysis of spading as doubly filled COMP filter violations under sluicing would have anything to say about swiping.

Finally, I would like to point out that the two main correlations Hoekstra (1993) presents as evidence in favor of his analysis follow naturally from my account as well. The first of these two correlations already featured in chapter 4 (in section 4.3.6), where I showed that the doubly filled COMP facts in Frisian can be seen as corroborating evidence for the analysis of the CP-domain I proposed, and it was that same analysis that played a crucial role in determining which types of wh-phrases are allowed to occur in spading and which ones are not. In other words, the data in (1) and (2) run parallel because both sets of examples derive from a particular analysis of the CP-domain, not because *dat* 'that' in (1) is the same element as *'t* 'that' in (2). Second, the correlation noted in (3) can also be captured by my account. What these data show is that when modified by an adverb-like element, wh-pronouns start to behave like complex wh-phrases in being merged in specCP$_1$.[2] As a result, they no longer occur in spading (3)a, and they cannot by followed by *'t* 'that' in doubly filled COMP contexts in Frisian (3)b. I will not present an analysis of these facts here (though see chapter 8 for some discussion), but it is clear that whatever accounts for one example of the pair in (3) will, under the analyses presented in the previous chapters, also account for the other half of the pair. As such, they pose no problem for the analysis adopted here.

Summing up, an analysis of spading in terms of wh-phrase + complementizer seems unable to account for all the relevant data, even if this complementizer is argued to belong to the hybrid category of demonstrative complementizers. On the one hand, there are strong indications that the element following the wh-phrase is a full-fledged demonstrative pronoun and has no direct link to doubly filled COMP filter violations. On the other hand, it is unclear how such an account would deal with the parallelisms between spading and clefts or swiping. Moreover, I have shown that the data that make a doubly filled COMP account of spading very appealing at first sight can also be accounted for under my analysis.

7.2.2 Spading as Pseudosluicing

The analysis I am arguing against in this section can be considered a straw man, since no one to my knowledge has ever proposed it. However, given that at first sight it is highly appealing as an account for spading, it deserves to be mentioned here. What I will argue is that spading should not be analyzed as an instance of pseudosluicing.

Merchant (1998:91) defines pseudosluicing as follows: "A pseudosluice is an elliptical construction that resembles a sluice in having only a wh-XP as remnant, but has the structure of a cleft, not of a regular embedded question." He goes on to argue that what looks like sluicing in Japanese is in fact pseudosluicing.[3] Specifically, in an example such as (5)a, the underlying structure of the sluiced CP is not as in (5)b, but rather as in (5)c.[4]

(5)	a.	Dareka-ga	sono	hon-o	yon-da	ga,	watashi-wa	dare	ka	wakaranai.
		someone$_{NOM}$	that	book$_{ACC}$	read$_{PAST}$	but	I-TOP	who	$C_Q°$	know.not
		'Someone read that book, but I don't know who.'								

b. [$_{CP}$ dare$_i$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ sono hon-o yon-da] ka]
who that book$_{ACC}$ read$_{PAST}$ C$_Q$°
'. . . who read that book.'

c. [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ *pro* dare ~~da/de-aru~~] ka]
who be$_{PRES}$ C$_Q$°
'. . . who it is.' [Japanese]

In light of the preceding discussion, it seems tempting to identify spading as a subtype of pseudosluicing. Spading, too, is an elliptical construction that resembles sluicing but differs from it in that it derives from an underlying cleft rather than from a regular wh-question. On closer inspection, however, spading turns out to be quite different from pseudosluicing. In order to illustrate this, I have to be more specific about what causes the deletion of the IP-internal material (except for the wh-phrase) in the structure in (5)c. Merchant (1998) argues that the fact that Japanese does and English does not display pseudosluicing is due to the following two salient characteristics of Japanese:

(6) a. It is a null subject language.
b. It optionally allows for omission of the copula in embedded sentences.

When operating together, these two characteristics can have the combined effect of reducing an embedded cleft like *that it is X* to *that X;* that is, all that is left is the complementizer and the pivot. If that pivot is a wh-phrase, the result is a surface string that is highly similar to a CP that has undergone sluicing. This means that the ellipsis process in (5)a/(5)c is not the result of the PF-deletion of IP triggered by the [E]-feature on C°, but rather of the fact that Japanese independently allows certain parts of this particular structure (i.e. pronouns and copulas) to be left unpronounced. The spading dialects discussed in the preceding chapters, however, display neither of the two properties summed up in (6). This means that the analysis of the Japanese pseudosluicing example in (5)a cannot be applied to the dialect Dutch spading data, a first indication that the two phenomena are fundamentally different.[5]

Second, while in Japanese pseudosluicing the copula can optionally be overt, adding a copula to an embedded spading example leads to ungrammaticality.[6]

(7) Dareka-ga sono hon-o yon-da ga, watashi-wa dare (data) ka wakaranai.
someone$_{NOM}$ that book$_{ACC}$ read$_{PAST}$ but I-TOP who was C$_Q$° know.not
'Someone read that book, but I don't know who (it was).' [Japanese]

(8) Iemand eit daunen boek gelezen, mo kweet nie wou da (*was).
someone has that book read but I.know not who that$_{DEM}$ was
'Someone has read that book, but I don't know who.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Third, given that the licensing requirements on pseudosluicing have nothing in common with those on sluicing, this construction is predicted to occur in contexts that disallow sluicing. In Japanese this is indeed the case, as we find non-wh-pseudosluices

in the complement of yes/no or even declarative complementizers (see (9), and see Van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2007 for more general discussion). Spading only occurs in sluicing (see chapter 3) and hence is disallowed in these contexts (see (10)).

(9) a. John-ga dareka-o kubinisita rasii kedo, boku-wa Bill ka dooka siranai.
John$_{\text{NOM}}$ someone$_{\text{ACC}}$ fired seem but I-TOP Bill whether know.not
'It seems that John fired someone, but I don't know whether it was Bill.'

b. John-ga dareka-o kubinisita rasii kedo, boku-wa Bill to omou.
John$_{\text{NOM}}$ someone$_{\text{ACC}}$ fired seem but I-TOP Bill that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$ think
'It seems that John fired someone, and I think that it was Bill.' [Japanese]

(10) a. * Jef eid iemand ontsluigen, mo ik weet nie of Lewie da.
Jeff has someone fired but I know not if Louis that$_{\text{DEM}}$

b. * Jef eid iemand ontsluigen en ik paus da Lewie da.
Jeff has someone fired and I think that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$ Louis that$_{\text{DEM}}$ [Wambeek Dutch]

Finally, while Japanese pseudosluicing is sensitive to islands, spading is not (like regular sluicing; see Fox and Lasnik 2003, Merchant 2001, 2004, Ross 1969 for discussion).[7] The relevant contrast is illustrated for the complex NP constraint in (11)–(12).

(11) * Hanako-ga Taroo-ni nanika-o ageta hito-ni atta soda ga,
Hanako$_{\text{NOM}}$ Taroo$_{\text{DAT}}$ something$_{\text{ACC}}$ gave person$_{\text{DAT}}$ met I.heard but
watashi-wa nani-o ka siranai.
I-TOP what$_{\text{ACC}}$ $\text{C}_{\text{Q}}{}^\circ$ know-not
'I heard that Hanako met a person who gave Taroo something, but I don't know what.'
[Japanese]

(12) Lewie ei ne film gezien wuirin dad iemand meeduut
Louis has a movie seen where.in that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$ someone participated
dat-n kan, mo kweet niet wou da.
that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$-he knows but I.know not who that$_{\text{DEM}}$
'Louis saw a movie that starred someone he knows, but I don't know who.'
[Wambeek Dutch]

Summing up, it is clear that, though appealing at first sight, it is quite undesirable to analyze spading as a subtype of pseudosluicing.[8]

7.3 Previous Analyses of Swiping

Although swiping has never really been in the center of attention of linguistic theorizing, a number of analyses have been proposed over the years. Specifically, accounts of swiping can be found in Ross (1969), Rosen (1976), Van Riemsdijk (1978a), Lobeck (1995), Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey (1995), Kim (1997),

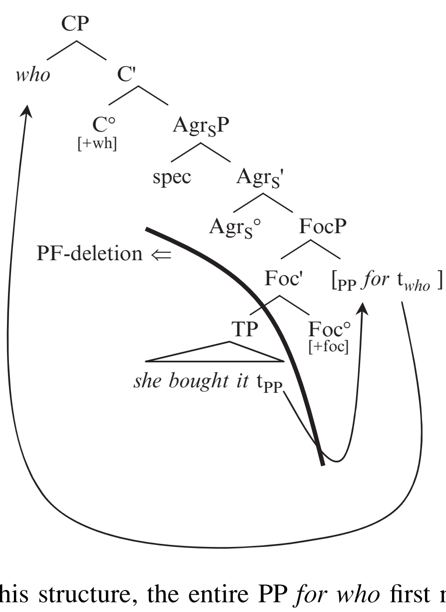
Culicover (1999), Richards (1997, 2001), Merchant (2002), Culicover and Jackendoff (2005), Hasegawa (2007), Hartman and Ai (2007), and Hartman (2007). In this section, I focus on the analyses given in Kim (1997), Richards (2001), Merchant (2002), and Hartman (2007). The first two bear some resemblance to my own analysis; the third was the first fully worked out in-depth account of swiping; and the fourth is the most recent, as yet unchallenged analysis of this phenomenon. (Merchant (2002:298–301) gives a critical review of earlier analyses of swiping.)

7.3.1 Kim (1997)

Kim (1997) presents a comparative analysis of a number of elliptical constructions found in English, Japanese, and Korean. In his discussion of sluicing in English, he also focuses on swiping (which he calls "Spill-over Sluicing"; see Kim 1997:156–183). He proposes to analyze an example such as the one in (13) as in (14) (Kim 1997:162).

(13) Mary bought a present. I wonder who for.

(14)



In this structure, the entire PP *for who* first moves to the right-hand specifier of a head-final focus-projection that is situated in between TP and Agr$_S$P, in order to check a focus-feature. Then, the wh-phrase strands the preposition in this specifier, and moves on its own to specCP in order to check the [+wh]-feature of C°. Finally, TP is PF-deleted, and all that remains is the wh-phrase in specCP and the stranded preposition in specFocP; that is, the derivation has yielded an instance of swiping.

It is clear that the account sketched in (14) is able to capture the fact that swiped prepositions bear stress, as well as the fact that they cannot have an antecedent. Given that the preposition *for* in (14) is stranded in specFocP, it seems only natural that it should receive a focus interpretation (see also the discussion in chapter 5,

section 5.3.2). Moreover, this analysis can also explain the fact that swiping only occurs in sluicing. Consider the example in (15) (Kim 1997:162).

(15) * I wonder who for she bought it.

Given that the clause-internal focus projection has a right-hand specifier, there is simply no way the ungrammatical example in (15) can be derived. Whenever a preposition is stranded in specFocP, it should be linearly preceded by all the other clause-internal material. Applied to the example at hand, this means that preposition stranding in specFocP in a nonelliptical clause would yield the (grammatical) result in (16). This example is given the structural representation in (17).

(16) I wonder who she bought it for.

(17) I wonder [$_{CP}$ who [$_{Agr_SP}$ she Agr$_S$° [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_{she}$ bought it t$_{PP}$] Foc° [$_{PP}$ for t$_{who}$]]]]

Moreover, Kim also presents some further supporting evidence for the fact that the entire PP first moves to the right before the wh-phrase moves on to the left-peripheral specCP. It concerns the examples in (18) and (19) (Kim 1997:164–165).

(18) John thinks Mary likes someone. Bill wonders who.
  a. Bill wonders who ~~John thinks Mary likes.~~
  b. Bill wonders who ~~Mary likes.~~

(19) Mary claims that the opera was written in the nineteenth century, but we are not sure who by.
  a. * . . . we are not sure who ~~Mary claims the opera was written~~ by.
  b. . . . we are not sure who ~~the opera was written~~ by.

What the example in (18) shows is that "regular" instances of sluicing (i.e. non-swiping ones) allow both a long-distance reading (in which the matrix clause is contained in the ellipsis site; see (18)a) and a short-distance one (in which the ellipsis site consists solely of the embedded clause, see (18)b). Swiping on the other hand, only allows for the short-distance reading (compare (19)a with (19)b). This follows, Kim argues, from the Right Roof Constraint (Ross 1967), which states that no element that is moved rightward by a transformation may be moved out of the next higher S-node. Specifically, the PP *by who* is first moved to the right, to the right-hand specifier of the FocP of the embedded clause, and as a result, the wh-phrase cannot subsequently be moved out of this clause and into a higher one. As a result, the reading represented in (19)a is disallowed. This concludes my overview of Kim's (1997) analysis of swiping.

It is clear that there is a certain amount of similarity between the account I proposed in chapter 5 and the one advocated by Kim (1997). Both analyses assume that swiping is the result of preposition stranding in the intermediate position of a two-step wh-movement operation. Moreover, in both cases the position the preposition ends up in is a structural focus position, which explains the focus characteristics of swiped prepositions (i.e. stress and new information). However, the two proposals

also differ from one another in a significant number of respects. In the following paragraphs, I focus on several such differences, arguing that Kim's account faces a number of theoretical and empirical problems. The issues I discuss are the right-hand specifier of FocP, the fact that Agr_SP is not contained in the ellipsis site, and the fact that swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases.

A first issue I want to address concerns the fact that the focus projection in the structure in (14) is right-headed and has a right-hand specifier. It is worth pointing out that in the grammar of English, such a projection is clearly the odd one out. In particular, English is generally considered to be a consistent head-initial language, which leads to the use of the order specifier < head < complement throughout. Whenever a projection is postulated that does not fit this general pattern, it should be backed up by strong supporting evidence. As I will show, it is not clear to me that this is the case with respect to the focus projection in the structure in (14).[9] Recall that Kim discusses the contrast between the examples in (15) and (16) (repeated here) as supporting evidence in favor of the right-hand specifier of FocP. Whenever a preposition is stranded in specFocP, it linearly follows all the other clause-internal material, indicating that specFocP is to the right.

(20) * I wonder who for she bought it.

(21) I wonder who she bought it for.

However, as Kim himself acknowledges, this line of reasoning seems to predict that prepositions can be freely stranded in extraposed positions. Consider in this respect the example in (22) (Kim 1997:163n20).[10]

(22) * $What_2$ did [a book t_1] come out yesterday [on t_2]$_1$?

As Ross (1967) already observed, extraposed XPs are islands for extraction. Given that the movement operation of the PP *for who* to specFocP in the example in (21) is very similar to an instance of extraposition (see also note 9), Kim's analysis at first sight leads to the prediction that the example in (21) should be as ungrammatical as the one in (22), contrary to fact. He proposes that the contrast between (21) and (22) is due to a parsing effect. While in (21) the rightward movement operation is string vacuous, in (22) it crosses the elements *come out yesterday*. Under the assumption that Ross's island effects do not show up in string vacuous rightward movement, the grammaticality contrast between (21) and (22) follows. However, it should be pointed out that this hypothesis is not supported by any independent evidence, that string vacuity is not assumed to play a role in any other island effect, and most important, that swiping seems to be immune to this restriction. Consider the data in (23) and (24).

(23) A: A new book came out.
B: What about?

(24) A: Mary bought a book yesterday.
B: I wonder who for.

In both these dialogues, the rightward movement of the PP in B's reply is not string vacuous. This is illustrated in the partial structural representations in (25) and (26). In the structure in (25), the PP crosses the phrasal verb *come out,* while in the example in (26), it has to move across the adverb *yesterday*. In spite of the lack of string vacuity, however, these examples are perfectly well formed. This casts doubt on Kim's explanation of the contrast between (21) and (22) in terms of the string vacuity of the movement operations involved.[11]

(25) What$_2$ ~~did [a new book t_1] come out~~ [about t_2]$_1$?

(26) I wonder who$_2$ ~~Mary bought a book t_1 yesterday~~ [for t_2]$_1$.

The second argument in favor of the right-hand specifier of FocP concerns the examples in (18) and (19) (repeated here).

(27) John thinks Mary likes someone. Bill wonders who.
  a. Bill wonders who ~~John thinks Mary likes.~~
  b. Bill wonders who ~~Mary likes.~~

(28) Mary claims that the opera was written in the nineteenth century, but we are not sure who by.
  a. * . . . we are not sure who ~~Mary claims the opera was written~~ by.
  b. . . . we are not sure who ~~the opera was written~~ by.

While "regular" sluicing allows for long-distance readings, swiping does not. However, it is not clear if the empirical generalization put forward by Kim is entirely accurate. In particular, it turns out to be fairly straightforward to construct examples in which swiping *does* allow for long-distance readings. Consider in this respect the data in (29).

(29) John said that Mary had danced, but I don't remember who with.
  a. . . . who ~~John said Mary had danced~~ with.
  b. . . . who ~~Mary had danced~~ with.

In this example, both the long-distance and the short-distance reading are readily available. In fact, it is even the long-distance reading (i.e. the one represented in (29)a) that is preferred here. A similar conclusion can be reached on the basis of the example in (30).[12]

(30) Every boy$_i$ says his$_i$ mother will give a talk. I don't know what about.
  a. I don't know what ~~every boy$_i$ says his$_i$ mother will give a talk~~ about.
  b. * I don't know what ~~his$_i$ mother will give a talk~~ about.

In this example, the matrix subject of the first sentence contains a universal quantifier that binds a pronoun in the embedded subject. For the swiped complement clause of *know,* this implies that in order for the possessive pronoun *his* to be

interpreted as a bound variable, the matrix clause *every boy says* has to be included in the ellipsis site. This is corroborated by the fact that the nonelliptical counterpart of (30)b is ill formed:

(31) Every boy$_i$ says his$_i$ mother will give a talk. *I don't know what his$_i$ mother will give a talk about.

In other words, the operator/variable-dependency between *every boy* and *his* forces the long-distance reading on the swiped clause in (30). Given that this example is perfectly well formed, it provides strong evidence against the hypothesis that swiping does not allow for long-distance readings. In fact, this conclusion also seems to hold for Kim's original example (repeated here with judgments omitted).

(32) Mary claims that the opera was written in the nineteenth century, but we are not sure who by.
  a. . . . we are not sure who ~~Mary claims the opera was written~~ by.
  b. . . . we are not sure who ~~the opera was written~~ by.

Consider a context in which a group of people is eavesdropping on Mary giving a presentation. They can hear that she claims a certain opera was written in the nineteenth century, but they did not quite catch the name of the composer. When reporting about their eavesdropping activities to a third party, they utter the sentence in (32). In such a context, it seems that the long-distance reading is very well available, and probably even preferred. Summing up, it seems fair to conclude that the evidence presented by Kim in favor of a head-final focus projection with concomitant rightward movement to specFocP is not entirely convincing.

A second aspect in which Kim's analysis differs markedly from mine concerns the fact that Agr$_S$P is not contained in the ellipsis site. This immediately raises the prediction that this projection can be filled by overt material in swiping examples. Specifically, the subject should be able to appear in specAgr$_S$P, and an auxiliary should be able to raise to Agr$_S$°. As is illustrated in (33) and (34), however, this is not the case.

(33) * Mary has danced, but I don't know who she has with.

(34) . . . [$_{CP}$ who [$_{AgrsP}$ she has [$_{FocP}$ ~~[$_{TP}$ t_{she} t_{has} danced $t_{with\ who}$]~~ Foc° [$_{PP}$ with t_{who}]]]]

The derivation of this example is in all relevant respects identical to the one sketched in the tree structure in (14), but for the fact that the subject and the auxiliary have moved into Agr$_S$P. Given that it is only TP that is deleted, these elements should be able to surface in between the wh-phrase and the swiped preposition, contrary to fact. As far as the absence of the auxiliary is concerned, Kim (1997:183–185) argues that this is part of the more general phenomenon whereby—in certain contexts and in certain languages—verb movement can be bled by ellipsis (see the references I mention in chapter 5, note 6). Specifically, he assumes that the strong feature attracting the auxiliary to Agr$_S$° in the structure in (34) is situated not on Agr$_S$° itself but on the auxiliary. This means that there are now two ways this feature

can be eliminated: either the auxiliary moves to $Agr_S°$, or it remains in situ, and the feature is deleted as a result of the PF-deletion of TP. Given that in swiping examples, the second option is chosen, the auxiliary never surfaces in between the wh-phrase and the swiped preposition. Moreover, he proposes a similar analysis with respect to the subject (Kim 1997:168–172). Here, too, he claims that the strong feature driving subject movement to specAgr_SP is situated not on $Agr_S°$ but on the subject-DP itself. Consequently, there are again two ways of checking this feature: either the subject moves into specAgr_SP, or it stays in situ, and its feature is deleted as a result of the PF-deletion of TP. In swiping examples, the subject chooses the second option. However, while the account sketched here might have some plausibility when it comes to verb movement (and see the references I mention in chapter 5, note 6 for more fully worked out accounts), it is doubtful whether it should be extended to subject raising. In particular, Lasnik (2001a) argues explicitly that it should not. He shows that while the verb can stay in situ in ellipsis contexts, the subject cannot. Consider in this respect (35) (Lasnik 2001a:360).

(35) * Mary said she can't swim, even though (really) can ~~she swim~~.

In this VP-ellipsis example, the subject pronoun *she* has not raised from specVP to specIP and, as a result, is contained in the ellipsis site. If subject movement is driven by a strong feature that is situated on the subject-DP, this should be a legitimate way of eliminating the strong subject feature, and the derivation should converge. The fact that the example is ungrammatical seems to suggest that Kim's account for the absence of subject movement in swiping examples is not valid.[13]

The third and final issue I want to focus on concerns the fact that swiping only affects minimal wh-phrases. As Kim himself acknowledges, this generalization is not accounted for under his analysis (Kim 1997:164n22). It is not clear why simple wh-phrases can but complex ones cannot strand a preposition in specFocP.

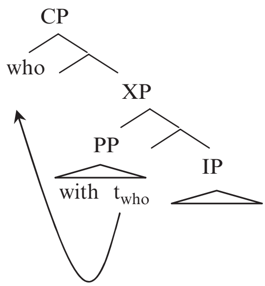
Summing up, in the preceding paragraphs I have introduced Kim's (1997) analysis of swiping. I have argued that although I share with him the assumption that swiping is the result of preposition stranding in an intermediate (focus) position of a two-step wh-movement operation, his account also leads to a number of theoretical and empirical problems.[14]

7.3.2 Richards (2001)

As already mentioned, the account of swiping proposed by Richards (2001) also bears some resemblance to the analysis I developed in chapter 5. In what follows I point out exactly what those parallelisms are, and where the two accounts differ. Moreover, Merchant (2002:300–301) presents a criticism of Richards's account. I show that the objections he raises do not apply to the analysis proposed here.

Richards (2001:139–140) proposes to analyze swiping as movement of a wh-PP to a functional projection XP outside IP, followed by wh-movement to specCP,

which strands the preposition in specXP. The derivation of the question *Who with?* is schematically represented in (36) (Richards 2001:140).

(36)


Richards further assumes that movement to specXP is driven by a weak feature (the precise nature of which is left unspecified) while movement to specCP is driven by a strong [+wh]-feature. Combined with his theory about the interaction between feature strength and the overt/covert-distinction (see chapter 5), this allows for an elegant account of why swiping only occurs in sluicing. Given that the movement of the wh-PP to specXP is triggered by a weak feature, it does not provide PF with unambiguous instructions as to which copy to spell out, and as a result this movement should be illegitimate. This violation can be undone, however, if the lower part of this movement chain is deleted at PF. That explains why movement to specXP (and as a derivative of this movement, swiping) is only allowed under sluicing, that is, when PF-deletion of IP eliminates the lower part of this movement chain.

Another advantage of this analysis is that it can account for the fact that in multiple sluicing, only the first wh-phrase can undergo swiping. Consider the data in (37) (Richards 2001:139).[15]

(37) I know John was talking with somebody about something,

a. . . . but I don't know who with about what.
b. * . . . but I don't know with who what about.
c. * . . . but I don't know what with who about.
d. * . . . but I don't know who with what about.
e. * . . . but I don't know who what with about.

The example in (37)a is derived by movement of both wh-PPs to specXP, followed by wh-movement of *who* to specCP, stranding *with* in (the outer) specXP, and PF-deletion of IP (sluicing). Given that C° bears only one strong [+wh]-feature, the latter movement option is not available to *what*. Specifically, *what* cannot move to specCP to check a weak [+wh]-feature there, since the lower copy of this movement chain (the one in specXP) is not contained in the ellipsis site. As a result, this movement chain does not provide PF with unambiguous instructions as to which copy to spell out, and the derivation crashes. The fact that it is *who* and not *what* that moves to specCP is a straightforward Superiority effect: C° attracts the closest wh-phrase available.

The parallelisms between this analysis and the one I presented in chapter 5 are obvious. Both accounts assume that swiping is the result of a wh-phrase stranding its preposition in an intermediate projection on its way to specCP. Moreover, there is also a striking similarity between the two proposals when it comes to explaining why swiping only occurs in sluicing. Both accounts suggest that ellipsis is needed to rescue what would otherwise be a (PF-)illegitimate derivation. On closer inspection, however, the differences between the two analyses are substantial as well. Whereas Richards leaves the nature of the intermediate landing site (i.e. XP), as well as that of the feature that is being checked there, unspecified, I have argued at length that it concerns a low CP in which operator features are checked. Furthermore, the two proposals differ in the precise mechanism they hold responsible for the PF-crash in the absence of ellipsis. Specifically, Richards assumes the overt movement to specXP to be driven by a weak feature. Given that such a constellation is only allowed when the lower part of the movement chain is elided, the restricted distribution of swiping follows. My proposal on the other hand takes the operator feature of $C_2°$ to be strong and the source of the violation to be the lack of Chain Uniformity at PF. Although determining which of the two proposals is preferable is not a trivial issue, I consider the fact that minimal wh-phrases can surface in $specCP_2$ in nonelliptical wh-questions (see chapter 4, section 4.3.6) to be a strong indication that the relevant feature in $C_2°$ is indeed strong and that the violation is due to (a lack of) Chain Uniformity.[16]

Merchant (2002:300–301) presents three points of criticism against Richards's analysis of swiping. Interestingly, the first two turn out to be inapplicable to my account. The third one requires a bit more discussion. First, Merchant points out that Richards's analysis as it stands cannot account for the fact that swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases. A priori there is no reason why minimal wh-phrases can, but complex ones cannot strand their preposition in specXP. As I have argued at length, this criticism does not apply to my account. Complex wh-phrases cannot strand a preposition in $specCP_2$ because at no point in the derivation do they occupy this position, being as they are base-generated in $specCP_1$. Second, no independent evidence is presented for the existence of XP, nor is it clear what its role is besides hosting the intermediate movement necessary for swiping. Again, the account presented here escapes this criticism, as I have presented ample empirical evidence in favor of the existence of CP_2, at the same time indicating what role this projection plays outside of swiping. The third point concerns the repair effect induced by ellipsis. If sluicing is needed to delete the lower copies of the wh-PP that undergoes swiping, certain instances of VP-ellipsis should allow for swiping as well. Consider (38) (Merchant 2002:301).

(38) *We know when she spoke, but we don't know what about she did.

Here, Merchant argues, VP-ellipsis has deleted the lower copy of the wh-PP *about what,* and yet swiping is still disallowed. Given that both Richards's account and mine crucially depend on ellipsis eliding the lower PP-copies, this point of criticism applies to both analyses. What I want to argue, however, is that the instance of VP-ellipsis in (38) has failed to delete *all* intermediate copies of the wh-PP *about what.*

Specifically, there is still a copy of this phrase in between the elided VP and IP (indicated neutrally in (39) as adjoined to XP), and it is this copy that causes the violation of Chain Uniformity that is responsible for the ungrammaticality of (38). This is schematically represented in (39).

(39) $[_{CP1}$ what $C_1°$ $[_{CP2}$ about what $C_2°$ $[_{IP}$ she did $[_{XP}$ about what … ~~$[_{VP}$ speak about what~~ ...

NON-UNIFORM CHAIN

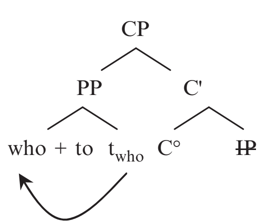
The idea that the PP *about what* has an intermediate landing site in between VP and IP on its way to the CP-domain has recently been argued for by Fox and Lasnik (2003) and Merchant (2004) (and see also Fox 2000, Nissenbaum 2000 for related proposals). These articles try to account for the fact that while sluicing is insensitive to islands (see Ross 1969 and see also note 7 here and surrounding text), VP-ellipsis is not. Interestingly, both Fox and Lasnik and Merchant crucially argue that while sluicing deletes all the intermediate copies of the island-violating wh-phrase, VP-ellipsis fails to delete a subset of these intermediate copies (i.e. those in between VP and CP), and as a result, VP-ellipsis is still sensitive to islands. Although this is only the rough outline of their analyses (see the original references for more in-depth discussion), it should be clear that this account carries over wholesale to the problem presented by (38)–(39). There, too, VP-ellipsis fails to delete all the intermediate copies of the moved PP, and as a result, the derivation crashes. More generally, swiping is only licensed under sluicing.

Summing up, in this section I have presented Richards's (2001) account of swiping. I have shown that although it bears some resemblance to my account, there are also substantial differences. Moreover, my analysis was able to overcome the criticism raised by Merchant (2002) against Richards's analysis.

7.3.3 Merchant (2002)

The account of swiping put forward by Merchant (2002) is radically different from what I have been considering so far. He proposes to analyze swiping as an instance of prosodically conditioned head movement of the wh-pronoun onto the preposition. Reduced to its bare essentials, the analysis of a swiping example such as *Who to?* can then be schematically represented as in (40).

(40)



An account of swiping in terms of head movement provides a natural explanation for the fact that this construction only targets minimal wh-phrases. Given fairly standard assumptions about structure preservation and the ban on D°-extraction in English,

sluices like the ones in (41) cannot be derived by the mechanism exemplified in (40), as desired.

(41) a. * Which book about?
b. * Which about book?

The example in (41)a would require adjunction of a phrase (*which book*) to a head (*about*); (41)b would involve extraction of the D° *which* out of the DP *which book*. Given that both these processes are independently banned from the grammar of English, the minimality restriction on swiping falls out naturally from the head movement account.

Moreover, there is independent evidence in favor of the hypothesis that swiping only targets heads. Consider the data in (42) (Merchant 2002:303–304)

(42) a. What <the hell> kind of doctor <*the hell> is she, anyhow?!
b. What <*exactly> kind of doctor <exactly> is she?

These data show that while *the hell* is a modifier that typically attaches to heads, adverb-like elements like *exactly* only attach to phrases. If swiping is the result of head movement, wh-phrases that have undergone swiping should only be modifiable by *the hell,* and not by *exactly*. This prediction is borne out in (43) (Merchant 2002:303–304).

(43) a. He was talking, but God knows what the hell about.
b. * He was talking about something, but God knows what exactly about.

The fact that swiping only occurs in sluicing Merchant takes to be an indication that the head movement operation involved in swiping occurs after Spell-Out. The reasoning goes as follows: (1) swiping involves head movement; (2) swiping occurs only in sluicing; (3) sluicing is IP-deletion at PF; therefore, the head movement operation involved in swiping occurs after the PF-deletion of IP (given that it is crucially dependent on it), that is, swiping represents an instance of head movement at PF.

As for the question of what triggers this head movement, Merchant argues that swiping represents the overt counterpart of the process commonly referred to as feature percolation. When a wh-phrase pied-pipes a preposition, it somehow has to transfer its [+wh]-feature to the entire PP. It seems reasonable to assume that this transfer happens through feature movement: the [+wh]-feature of the wh-phrase moves and adjoins to the preposition. Normally, this movement does not lead to a change in word order; that is, the [+wh]-feature does not pied-pipe the phonological matrix of the wh-word that bears it for "PF convergence requirements" (Chomsky 1995). In English, however, the situation is more complicated. Given that the hypothesized feature movement is optional to begin with—English being a preposition-stranding language—the system has become unstable, and both the option where just the [+wh]-feature moves and the option where the entire

wh-word moves have become possible. When the second option is chosen, swiping occurs.

The choice between these two options is not entirely free, however. This is where the interaction between swiping and focus comes into play. Given that swiping only takes place when the IP following the wh-PP has been deleted, the phonological effect of the head movement involved in swiping is that the swiped preposition receives main stress (as a result of "general head-final prominence algorithms operative in English (see the nuclear stress rule and its descendants)"; Merchant 2002:305). Under a theory of focus that tries to avoid F-marking phrases that are GIVEN (i.e. that have an appropriate antecedent) such as that of Schwarzschild (1999), this line of reasoning predicts swiping to occur only when there is no appropriate antecedent for the swiped preposition. Recall from chapter 3 that this is precisely one of the main characteristics of swiping.

Having introduced the main ingredients of Merchant's (2002) analysis of swiping, I now present a critical evaluation of it. I focus on four aspects of (the analysis of) swiping: the idea that head movement is involved, the generalization that swiping only occurs in sluicing and its interaction with focus, the relation between swiping and preposition stranding, and the parallelisms between swiping and spading.

Under the account of swiping as head movement, a number of constituents that one would intuitively catalogue as phrases have to be reanalyzed as heads. A first group concerns the wh-constituents *how long, how much,* and *how many.* Recall from note 23 in chapter 3 that at least for some speakers, these wh-constituents are allowed to occur in swiping.

(44) a. %He's been living in Arizona, but I don't know how long for.
b. %She bought it all right, but don't even ask how much for!
c. %There's a lot of cities on her list, so she'll be traveling a lot, but I don't know how many to.

According to Merchant, *how long, how much,* and *how many* are "subject to varying degrees of reanalysis" (2002:297). It is unclear, however, why it should be precisely these constituents that are subject to reanalysis, and not, say, *which book, whose mother,* or *which.*[17] Interestingly, from the point of view of the theory I have presented, the fact that it is precisely these three that are allowed in swiping receives a natural explanation. Recall from chapter 4 (section 4.4.1) that I have defined the set of complex wh-phrases as consisting of those wh-constituents that have an N-restriction. Given that *how long, how much,* and *how many* lack such an N-restriction, they are expected to occur in swiping.[18] Abstracting away from the question of why it should be precisely these wh-constituents that behave differently, however, there is also an argument internal to Merchant's reasoning that casts doubt on their status as heads. Recall that aggressively non-D-linking modifiers are used as a test of the head status of the phrase they attach to. In this respect, it is interesting to note that while *how the hell long, how the hell much,* and *how the hell many* are perfectly well formed (see some examples taken from the internet in (45)), their counterparts where *the hell* modifies the entire phrase are rare to nonexistent (see (46)). Following

Merchant's reasoning, this would mean that their occurrence as heads is rare to nonexistent.

(45) a. How the hell long has there been chlorine in the tap water?
b. Everybody knows how the hell much that pisses me off.
c. How the hell many do you need to sell to avoid being dropped nowadays?

(46) a. * How long the hell has there been chlorine in the tap water?
b. * Everybody knows how much the hell that pisses me off.
c. * How many the hell do you need to sell to avoid being dropped nowadays?

A similar argument can be constructed on the basis of aggressively non-D-linked simple wh-phrases. Recall from example (43)a that they are allowed to occur in swiping. Consider some more data (again taken from the internet) in (47).

(47) a. "You want vomit-flavored Beans?" James asked, "Who on earth for?"
b. "What in the world about?" Justin asked, perplexed as to what they could have found to fight about so suddenly.
c. "Can I have the stuff?" "What in heaven's name for?"

If all these examples are derived by head movement, the strings *who on earth, what in the world,* and *what in heaven's name* all have to be reanalyzed as heads, in spite of the fact that they look like ordinary complex phrases. More generally, it is not because a particular modifier only merges with heads that the result of this merger is still a head.[19] Again, this can be demonstrated by adding other modifiers. Recall from (43)b that adverbs like *exactly* only attach to phrases. This means that if aggressively non-D-linked simple wh-phrases are indeed complex heads, they should disallow modification by *exactly*. The (internet) examples in (48) show that this prediction is not borne out.

(48) a. What the hell exactly does that mean?
b. Who the hell exactly is Jack Ryan?
c. Where the hell exactly is Wayne State anyway?

A third argument against the analysis of swiping as head movement comes from Frisian. Recall from chapter 6 that Frisian allows swiping to co-occur with spading. Reconsider a relevant example in (49).

(49) A: Jan hat juster in praatsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held
B: Wêr dat oer?
where that$_{DEM}$ about
'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: About what?' [Frisian]

Given that in this example, the wh-pronoun is separated from its swiped preposition by an independent lexical element (i.e. the demonstrative pronoun characteristic of

spading), these data pose a problem for accounts that analyze swiping as PP-internal head movement of the wh-pronoun onto the preposition.[20]

The second aspect of Merchant's analysis I turn to concerns the fact that swiping only occurs in sluicing. Recall that he uses this empirical generalization as a premise for the conclusion that the head movement involved in swiping occurs at PF. It is unclear, however, whether this line of reasoning really accounts for the generalization. In particular, it is difficult to see what would rule out the application of the head movement involved in swiping in cases where the IP following the wh-PP has not been elided. One could of course argue that this is where the interaction with focus comes in: swiping is only allowed when it has the phonological effect of placing the main stress on the preposition. Given that stress is assigned by general algorithms assigning prominence to the final or most deeply embedded constituent, a preposition will only be swiped if all the phonological material that follows it has been elided. Such an approach raises two new questions, however. First, it is unclear why swiping is still disallowed when the wh-PP is the most deeply embedded and most final constituent even without IP-deletion taking place. This is the case in (50).

(50) *Who spoke who to?

In this example, because the wh-PP is final and most deeply embedded in the clause, swiping would have the effect of placing extra stress on the preposition. Nevertheless, it is still disallowed.

The second issue I want to raise in this respect is one that has already featured in the discussion of Richards's (2001) analysis of swiping. Reconsider the paradigm in (51).

(51) I know John was talking with somebody about something,
  a. ... but I don't know who with about what.
  b. * ... but I don't know with who what about.
  c. * ... but I don't know what with who about.
  d. * ... but I don't know who with what about.
  e. * ... but I don't know who what with about.

These data show that in cases involving multiple sluicing, swiping is only allowed to occur in the first of the two wh-phrases. Again, this is unexpected from the point of view of a theory that links the occurrence of swiping to the requirement that the swiped wh-PP be left-adjacent to a gap. If anything, such a view would predict the second of the two wh-phrases to undergo swiping, contrary to fact.

My third point concerns the relation between swiping and preposition stranding. Under the assumption that swiping involves a type of head movement that is in all relevant respects the overt manifestation of the (normally invisible) process responsible for feature percolation and pied-piping, one would not expect to find phenomena in swiping that under normal (i.e. nonelliptical) circumstances only occur under preposition stranding, and not under pied-piping. In the account developed here, however, such constructions would receive a natural explanation, given

that a swiped preposition is, in a very real, syntactic sense, stranded (i.e. in $specCP_2$). As Merchant himself points out, there are indeed such phenomena. Consider for example the data in (52) (Merchant 2002:314n13).

(52) a. What did you do that for?
b. * For what did you do that?
INTENDED READING: 'Why did you do that?'

These examples illustrate that the wh-PP *for what* can acquire an idiomatic reading synonymous to *why,* but only if the preposition *for* has been stranded. Under the head movement account of swiping, this would predict the idiomatic reading to be absent in this construction, since at no point in the derivation is the preposition—at least in a syntactic sense—stranded. As (53) shows, however, this is a false prediction (Merchant 2002:315n13).

(53) He did it, but I don't know what for.

A similar though admittedly less clear argument can be constructed on the basis of the distribution of *whom* in swiping and preposition stranding. Although judgments based on this archaic, formal case-marked form of the wh-pronoun *who* are notoriously difficult (see Merchant 2001:133n13), there does seem to be something of a consensus when it comes the data presented in (54) ((54)a is taken from Merchant 2001:124n8, (54)b from Lasnik and Sobin 2000:361n22; (54)c is based on informant judgments).

(54) a. Peter went to the movies, but I don't know who(*m) with.
b. For who??(m) are you buying a gift?
c. Who(??m) are you buying a gift for?

Sentence (54)a illustrates that *whom* is disallowed in swiping, while (54)b and (54)c show that there is a tendency to use *who* in sentences involving preposition stranding but *whom* in cases of pied-piping. Again, then, there seems to be a parallel between swiping and preposition stranding that a head movement account of swiping has difficulties accounting for. The account presented in chapter 5 does invoke real, syntactic preposition stranding at one point in the derivation (i.e. when the wh-phrase moves to $specCP_1$, stranding the preposition in $specCP_2$) and as a result can account straightforwardly for the observed parallelism.[21]

The fourth and final point I wish to raise was, for obvious reasons, not discussed by Merchant. Recall that I have demonstrated earlier (in chapter 3, section 3.4) that there are a number of noticeable empirical parallelisms between English swiping and dialect Dutch spading. The fact that both only occur in sluicing, only target minimal wh-phrases, and require stress on the stranded element was taken to be strong indication that these two phenomena should receive a partially unified account. It is unclear, however, what such an account would look like under an analysis of swiping as PP-internal head movement of the wh-pronoun onto the preposition. Given that this analysis does not appear to have any discernible effects

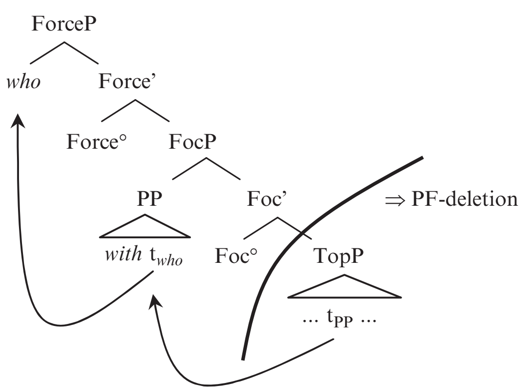
on the behavior of clefts in Dutch dialects, it does not seem to be able to capture the parallelisms I have pointed out.

Summing up, in this section I have introduced and critically evaluated Merchant's (2002) account of swiping. I have shown that there is reason to doubt that head movement is involved in swiping and that the stress assigned to swiped prepositions is the result of a general algorithm assigning stress to the most deeply embedded constituent. Moreover, I have pointed out a number of correlations between swiping on the one hand and preposition stranding and spading on the other, which seem difficult to capture under a head movement account of swiping.

7.3.4 Hartman (2007)

Although Hartman's (2007) account of swiping originated independently of the one I have presented, his and mine bear a striking resemblance.[22] In particular Hartman proposes, just as I did in chapter 5, that swiping is the result of a two-step movement operation with preposition stranding in the intermediate position. His analysis can be summarized as shown in (55) (see Hartman 2007:31).

(55)



In this structure, the PP *with who* first moves as a whole to specFocP, and then the wh-phrase moves on to specForceP, stranding the preposition in specFocP. When sluicing deletes the complement of Foc° (TopP in Hartman's account), all that remains is a sluiced wh-phrase followed by a stranded preposition; that is, the derivation has converged into a licit instance of swiping. It is clear that this account is highly similar to the one I have presented, especially in light of the parallelism I pointed out (at the end of chapter 4, section 4.2) between my CP_1/CP_2 and Rizzi's ForceP/FocP. Not surprisingly, then, the explanation Hartman provides for a number of properties of swiping is virtually identical to the one I have given. For example, in both accounts the fact that swiped prepositions bear stress and are antecedentless is made to follow from the fact that they occupy a structural focus position (see Hartman 2007:35 and chapter 5, section 5.3.2 here). With respect to the other two characteristics of swiping, however, the two analyses part ways. Accordingly, I focus on these properties in this section.

Recall that swiping only occurs in sluicing. In chapter 5, section 5.3.2, I analyzed this as a repair effect induced by ellipsis: swiping is needed to homogenize an otherwise nonuniform chain. Hartman on the other hand argues that the restriction to sluicing contexts follows from the combination of the following four principles (Hartman 2007:34).

(56) The focus assignment rule:
Assign an [+iFoc] feature to the largest non-e-GIVEN constituent which is dominated by an otherwise e-GIVEN constituent.

(57) The focus deletion ban:
At PF, a deleted constituent may not contain an [+iFoc] feature.

(58) The focus movement rule:
A. Only elements which bear an [+iFoc] feature may move to [Spec, FocP].
B. This movement only occurs overtly if it is independently compelled to do so in order to rescue an [+iFoc] feature from deletion at PF.

(59) The swiping-as-stranding analysis:
Swiping is preposition-stranding in [Spec, FocP]. Consequently, no preposition may appear in swiping unless it has moved to [Spec, FocP].

The principle in (56) is a technical innovation of Hartman's analysis. He proposes that non-e-GIVEN material that is contained within a larger e-GIVEN constituent is marked with a feature [+iFoc] (i.e. "information focus"). Given that a deleted constituent cannot contain any focus-marked material (Merchant 2001:26n9), constituents bearing the [+iFoc]-feature cannot be contained inside an ellipsis site (see (57)). In order to escape deletion, then, an [+iFoc]-marked phrase can move overtly to specFocP (see (58)). However, this movement is only available as a Last Resort option (focus movement normally being covert in English). The restriction of swiping to sluicing contexts now follows naturally. Given that swiping is preposition stranding in specFocP and given that movement to specFocP is only overt in contexts of ellipsis, it follows that swiping is contingent on ellipsis.

The fourth and final property of swiping concerns the fact that it only targets minimal wh-phrases such as *who* or *what,* not complex ones such as *which book.* Here, Hartman offers an account that is very different from what I have presented. He argues that the ban on complex wh-phrases in swiping is the result of a clash between the requirement that swiped wh-phrases have no antecedent and the discourse properties of complex wh-phrases. More specifically, a wh-phrase such as *which book* is D-linked in Pesetsky's (1987) sense; that is, it requires a presupposition in the discourse that there exists some book with the properties ascribed to it in the question (Hartman 2007:39–40). The most straightforward way of establishing such a presupposition is if there is a linguistic antecedent for the wh-phrase in the preceding discourse. This, however, is precisely what is causing the problem in swiping. On the one hand, a wh-phrase like *which book* needs an antecedent; on the other the specific syntax of swiping (in particular the focus movement it involves)

prevents such an antecedent. As a result, complex wh-phrases are ruled out from swiping.

The line of explanation put forward by Hartman raises a new prediction. In particular, the D-linked nature of complex wh-phrases can also be established without the use of an explicit linguistic antecedent. In such a scenario, both the D-linking requirement of the complex wh-phrase and the focus requirement of swiping could be satisfied. Accordingly, swiping with complex wh-phrases should be possible in such cases. Hartman adduces a number of internet-attested examples supporting this prediction. Here are two of them (Hartman 2007:42):

(60) a. Will you be going into town to buy it on release day? If so, which store from?
b. I'm definitely buying Megaman, but am not sure what system for yet.

In these cases, the preceding context sets up "a given restricted set of options" (Hartman 2007:41) without there being an explicit antecedent for the wh-phrase, and as predicted, swiping is well formed. In this way, Hartman's account explains "the overwhelming appearance of a 'minimal *wh* condition' as well as the rare but crucial exceptions to it" (Hartman 2007:43). This concludes my overview of his analysis of swiping.[23]

There are three issues I want to raise in my discussion of Hartman's article. The first concerns his explanation for the restriction of swiping to sluicing contexts; the second and third focus on criticisms he has raised against my account. First, recall that the restriction of swiping to sluicing is made to follow from the fact that overt movement to specFocP—a necessary prerequisite for swiping—is only allowed when the [+iFoc]-marked PP risks being contained in an ellipsis site. As Hartman himself points out, this line of reasoning suggests that *any* type of ellipsis should license swiping, not just sluicing. More concretely, the account seems to (incorrectly) predict that an example such as the one in (61) (Hartman 2007:34) should be well formed.

(61) * He went to the prom, but I don't know who with he did ~~go to the prom $t_{with\ who}$~~.

In this example, the [+iFoc]-marked PP *with who* risks being contained in a VP that is undergoing VP-ellipsis. Accordingly, the focus movement rule in (58) forces overt movement of the wh-phrase to specFocP, which in turn gives the wh-phrase the option of stranding the preposition in this position on its way to specForceP. The end result is an instance of swiping licensed by VP-ellipsis, a constellation not attested in English. Hartman tackles this objection by pointing out that the example in (61) is ill formed even if the preposition is not stranded in specFocP (i.e., in a case of regular PP-sluicing; see (62))[24] and concludes that argument extraction from VP-ellipsis sites is excluded altogether.

(62) ??/*He went to the prom, but I don't know with who he did ~~go to the prom $t_{with\ who}$~~.

This conclusion, however, seems a bit hasty. As discussed in detail by Johnson (1996, 2001), Schuyler (2002), and Merchant (2008b), argument extraction from

VP-ellipsis sites is well formed provided certain focus requirements are met (see also note 16 in chapter 11 for some discussion). What is more, Merchant (2002:301) points out that even when those requirements are satisfied, swiping can still not be licensed by VP-ellipsis. The relevant examples are given in (63) and (64) (Merchant 2002:301).

(63) We know which BOOKS she read, but we don't know which MAGAZINES she did.

(64) * We know WHEN she spoke, but we don't know what ABOUT she did.

The example in (63) shows that argument extraction from a VP-ellipsis site is allowed in case the antecedent clause contains parallel extraction of a contrasting wh-constituent. As illustrated in (64), however, the same context does not allow for swiping. This means that the ill-formedness of (64) is not due to extraction restrictions on VP-ellipsis sites, but rather to the fact that swiping cannot be licensed by VP-ellipsis. Given that Hartman's account predicts such licensing to be possible, these data present a problem for him.

My second and third points concern the critique Hartman has raised against my analysis. His first objection pertains to cases of swiping with complex wh-phrases such as those presented in (60). Given that I have shown in detail (in chapter 5, section 5.3.2) how my analysis rules out this particular constellation, and given that my definition of complexity is based on phrase structure, not on D-linking, such cases are prima facie problematic for me. There are three points I would like to make with respect to these data. First of all, it is unclear if D-linking is really the defining characteristic involved in these examples. In particular, in some of the examples Hartman gives, it is far from clear that the wh-phrase selects from "a given restricted set of options" (Hartman 2007:41). In this respect, consider (65) (Hartman 2007:42).

(65) It doesn't matter where in the world you work or what company for, bosses are all the same and for the life of you, you just can't work out how the hell they got to be boss in the first place.

Unless one considers the set of all possible companies in the world to be a given restricted set of options, this example suggests that the crucial factor in allowing swiping with complex wh-phrases might not be D-linking. Moreover, Hartman's line of reasoning predicts that if there are complex wh-phrases that are not dependent on a previously established set, swiping should be freely available with them. In this respect, it is interesting to look at the well-known difference between *what N* and *which N*. While the latter is always D-linked, the former can also be used in a non-D-linked context. For example, a question such as *What book are you reading?* is perfectly compatible with an out-of-the-blue context. As (66) (Merchant 2002:296) illustrates, however, it is certainly not the case that swiping is always allowed with *what N*-phrases.

(66) * He'll be at the Red Room, but I don't know what time till.

Another indication that the restriction on swiping with complex wh-phrases is stricter than the one on D-linking concerns the fact that while regular swiping is

not at all restricted to a particular register (a point made explicitly by Merchant 2002:295), swiping with complex wh-phrases seems restricted to the highly informal—and often error-ridden—register of internet forums. For example, the literal rendition of Hartman's example in (60)b is as in (67).[25]

(67) custom robo, ribbit king, 4 swords, and pikmin 2 look good. im definetly buying megaman, but am not sure what system for yet. and im considering future tactics, but if i get that itll prolly be for ps2

If the occurrence of swiping with complex wh-phrases were really only a matter of setting up the appropriate D-linking context, one would expect it to show up more frequently and in all kinds of registers. In this respect, it's interesting to observe that Hartman (2007:42) notes being unable to get unequivocal native speaker judgments on carefully constructed—and highly D-linked—examples. All in all, then, it is not clear if D-linking is the decisive factor in allowing swiping with complex wh-phrases. In particular, if it were only a matter of D-linking, one would expect to find this phenomenon much more pervasively.

A second point I want to make with respect to these data concerns the fact that the D-linking hypothesis is unable to account for the parallelism between swiping and spading. Recall that in both constructions, complex wh-phrases are disallowed. In my analysis in chapter 5, I presented a unified account for this parallel behavior: given that in sluicing with complex wh-phrases it is CP_2 that is elided, material stranded in or moved to this projection is contained in the ellipsis site and cannot surface. The D-linking hypothesis on the other hand cannot provide such a unified account, because spading does not require its wh-phrase to be antecedentless. On the contrary, in the vast majority of the well-formed spading examples, there *is* such an antecedent, see (68). The fact that an example such as (69) is ill formed, then, must receive a different analysis from Hartman's perspective.

(68)	A: Jef	ei	iet	gekocht.	B: Wat	da?
	Jeff	has	something	bought	what	that$_{DEM}$

'A: Jeff bought a book. B: Which book?' [Wambeek Dutch]

(69)	A: Jef	ei	nen	boek	gekocht.	B: Welken	boek	(*da)?
	Jeff	has	a	book	bought	which	book	that$_{DEM}$

'A: Jeff bought a book. B: Which book?' [Wambeek Dutch]

Third, I want to point out that it is not in principle impossible to analyze data such as those in (60) within the system I proposed in chapter 5. Given the fairly marginal character of the phenomenon, however, and given that it is difficult to get clear native speaker judgments on it, I will not attempt a fully worked out analysis here but will limit myself to sketching the general outline of two possible approaches. The first and most obvious route to take would be to argue that the complex wh-phrases in these examples are in fact (exceptionally) functioning as syntactic operators. This would imply that they have to check an operator feature in specCP_2 and hence that swiping becomes an option. The advantage of such

an approach is that it makes clear predictions. In particular, if this line of reasoning is on the right track, the operator character of these wh-phrases should be detectable in the other contexts discussed in chapter 4 as well. A second tack would be to start from my definition of complex wh-phrases. While it is true that this definition revolves around the notion of structural complexity, I argued that the crucial point was the presence or absence of an N-restriction. This allowed me to explain the—albeit somewhat marked—possibility of swiping with at first sight complex wh-phrases such as *how long* or *how much*. It also opens up perspectives for data such as those in (60). If it can be shown that in these cases, the noun following the wh-word does not in fact function as a nominal restriction on it, the occurrence in swiping of such phrases would be predicted by my theory. For the reasons I have pointed out, though, I will not undertake this analysis here, but all in all, it does seem fair to conclude that the swiping data adduced by Hartman are not as problematic for my account as they appear to be at first sight.

Hartman's second objection concerns the notion of PF-Chain Uniformity I introduced and discussed in chapter 5, section 5.3.2. Recall that I argued that swiping is restricted to sluicing contexts because sluicing is needed to homogenize an otherwise nonuniform chain. That is, a swiping chain typically consists of a number of PP-links and one DP-link (the highest one). By PF-deleting all but the highest two copies, a uniform DP-chain arises. Hartman objects (1) that it is not clear that the movement from the IP-internal base position through specCP$_2$ onto specCP$_1$ constitutes a single movement chain (rather than two separate ones, each uniform), and (2) that after PF-deletion of the lower chain links, the nonuniform DP-PP-chain should still cause a problem for LF-Chain Uniformity. I have discussed the second of these two issues in note 26 of chapter 5. As for the first one, the reason why I assume these copies to make up a single chain is because arguably at LF this entire construct is interpreted as a single operator/variable-dependency. The parallel I have in mind here is that of a wh-subject that first undergoes A-movement to specTP and subsequently A'-movement to specCP. There, too, the entire set of copies can be seen as a single movement chain that is translated into a single operator/variable-dependency.

Summing up, in this section I have introduced and discussed Hartman's (2007) analysis of swiping. Given that his account and mine are highly similar, deciding which is more successful is not entirely straightforward. However, the VP-ellipsis data, the fact that the parallelism with spading remains unexplained, and the fact that the D-linking hypothesis did not prove to be accurate lead me to prefer the account I presented in chapter 5 to Hartman's.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented and critically reviewed two alternative analyses of spading and four alternative analyses of swiping. I have demonstrated that all six accounts face considerable difficulties when confronted with the full set of data from spading and/or swiping.

8

Expanding the Data Set

8.1 Overview

In this chapter, I expand the data set of the first case study by briefly introducing some other instances of stranding under sluicing. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, I want to show that spading is not an accidental quirk of dialect Dutch and Frisian but occurs in a number of other languages as well. Second, I want to demonstrate how the analysis of spading and swiping that I have presented can shed new light on other constructions whereby overt material is stranded to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. The chapter is organized as follows. In section 8.2, I present an exploratory overview of the occurrence of spading in French and Eastern Norwegian.[1] I will show that there is a large overlap with dialect Dutch and Frisian spading. At the same time, each of these languages also displays its own idiosyncratic characteristics. As a result, I will not attempt to provide an in-depth analysis of French and/or Eastern Norwegian spading here, leaving the issue instead as a topic for further research (see also note 1). In section 8.3, I focus on two constructions whereby overt material other than a demonstrative pronoun or a preposition has been stranded under sluicing. I demonstrate that the interaction—or lack thereof—between these two constructions and spading/swiping can provide new insights as to what their analysis should look like.

8.2 Spading Cross-Linguistically

8.2.1 French

As Hoekstra (1993:10n7) has pointed out, the French construction exemplified in (1) at first sight resembles dialect Dutch and Frisian spading to a considerable extent.

(1) a. A: Je vais à Londres. B: Quand ça?
I go to London when that$_{DEM}$
'A: I'm going to London. B: When?'

b. A: J'ai vu quelqu'un. B: Qui ça?
I.have seen someone who that$_{DEM}$
'A: I saw someone. B: Who?' [French]

In these examples, a sluiced wh-phrase (in (1)a *quand* 'when' and in (1)b *qui* 'who') is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *ça* 'that'.[2] The parallelism between French and dialect Dutch/Frisian extends beyond these baseline data, however. Consider some additional examples in (2).

(2) a. A: Marie est en train de lire un livre.
Mary is in train of read$_{INF}$ a book
B: Quel livre (?? ça)?
which book that$_{DEM}$
'A: Mary is reading a book. B: Which book?'

b. Qui ÇA? / * QUI ça?
who that$_{DEM}$ / who that$_{DEM}$
'Who?'

c. A: J'ai parlé avec presque tout le monde.
I.have spoken with almost all the world
B: Avec qui <*ça> pas <*ça>?
with who that$_{DEM}$ not that$_{DEM}$
'A: I have spoken with almost everyone. B: Who didn't you speak with?'

d. Tout le monde était en train de parler avec quelqu'un,
all the world was in train of talk$_{INF}$ with someone
mais je ne sais pas qui (*ça) avec qui (*ça).
but I NEG know not who that$_{DEM}$ with who that$_{DEM}$
'Everyone was talking to someone, but I don't know who to whom.'

e. [Context: a contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise; she is given five minutes to think about the issue, after which the game show host walks up to her holding a picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand; he says:]
Qui (#ça)?
who that$_{DEM}$
Who?' [French]

While the dialogue in (2)a illustrates that complex wh-phrases are degraded when combined with a demonstrative pronoun (although the judgments appear to be slightly less strong than in dialect Dutch or Frisian), the minimal pair in (2)b shows that the stress pattern in French spading is identical to that of dialect Dutch and Frisian pointed out earlier. In both cases it is the demonstrative and not the wh-phrase that receives main stress. The examples in (2)c and (2)d illustrate

that French spading is disallowed in combination with negation or multiple sluicing, in the same way that its dialect Dutch and Frisian counterparts are. Finally, the question in (2)e demonstrates that French spading requires an overt linguistic antecedent, again in perfect accordance with its dialect Dutch and Frisian counterparts. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the French data in (1) are related in a more than superficial way to the dialect Dutch and Frisian data discussed earlier.

That said, there is one very noticeable difference between French and dialect Dutch/Frisian spading. While the latter is restricted to sluicing, the former can apparently occur in nonelliptical wh-questions as well. Consider an example in (3).

(3) Tu as vu qui ça?
you have seen who that_{DEM}
'Who did you see?' [French]

In this example, the string *qui ça* 'who that' seems to function as a single wh-phrase. At first sight, this might be taken as an indication that the combination of wh-phrase + demonstrative pronoun has grammaticalized into a single phrase in French. It is not clear, however, that such a conclusion is warranted. Specifically, several facts suggest that questions such as the one in (3) are more complex than they appear at first glance. First, data such as those in (3) are subject to a fair amount of dialectal and idiolectal variation. Some speakers disallow such questions entirely; others only accept them in an echo reading.[3] No such variation exists with respect to the sluiced examples in (1)–(2), however. Second, as was pointed out by Cheng and Rooryck (2000), unlike other wh-phrases, *qui ça* cannot raise to sentence-initial position. This is illustrated in (4).

(4) * Qui ça as-tu vu?
who that_{DEM} have-you seen
'Who did you see?' [French]

The fact that *qui ça* cannot move to specCP casts serious doubt on the assumption that it forms a single constituent. Moreover, several recent proposals concerning the left periphery of French assume a very rich functional architecture with a substantial amount of remnant movement (see for example Kayne and Pollock 2001, Poletto and Pollock 2002). This means that phrases that occur clause-finally can in fact occupy a fairly high left-peripheral position. Thus, the question in (3) might well be given an analysis compatible with the account I have presented for dialect Dutch and Frisian in the previous chapters, the crucial difference being that in French, part of the embedded clause has moved out of the ellipsis site to a position higher than the sluiced wh-phrase. As I pointed out in section 8.1, though, I will not undertake this enterprise here.

Summing up, in this section I have shown that French has a construction that bears too close a resemblance to dialect Dutch and Frisian spading for the two phenomena to be unrelated. The one important difference between the two—that is, the fact that (for some speakers) French spading appears not to be restricted to

sluicing—clearly needs further investigation, but might arguably be due to independent differences between the (left periphery of) the languages involved.

8.2.2 Eastern Norwegian

Spading in Eastern Norwegian (i.e. the dialects spoken in the area in and around Oslo) add yet another color to the cross-linguistic spading spectrum.[4] Consider the data in (5).

(5) a. * Hvem det?
who that$_{DEM}$

b. * Hva det?
what that$_{DEM}$

c. Hvorfor det?
why that$_{DEM}$
'Why?'

d. Hvordan det?
how that$_{DEM}$
'How do you mean?'
'Why do you say that?'

e. * Av hvilken grunn det?
of which reason that$_{DEM}$ [Eastern Norwegian]

These examples show that Eastern Norwegian allows only a subset of the set of minimal wh-phrases to occur in spading. In particular, only *hvorfor* 'why' in (5)c and *hvordan* 'how' in (5)d can be followed by the demonstrative pronoun *det* 'that' when sluiced. Moreover, the complex paraphrase of *why,* that is, *av hvilken grunn* 'for what reason' in (5)e is also disallowed. From the point of view of the theory developed in the preceding chapters, these data are highly interesting. Recall from chapter 4 that I have defined the set of complex wh-phrases as consisting of those wh-expressions that have an N-restriction. Wh-phrases like *which book* and wh-adverbs like *how* and *why* are on opposite ends of this complexity scale. I also proposed that languages differ as to the position simple wh-pronouns like *who* and *what* occupy on this scale. While in English the default behavior of simple wh-pronouns (which can be overridden in certain contexts; see chapter 4, section 4.4.1) is like that of wh-adverbs, Tsai (1994, 1999) shows that Chinese represents the opposite pattern (as witnessed by the fact that only *how* and *why* cause island violations in Chinese and hence have to move at LF). What I want to argue in light of the data in (5) is that Eastern Norwegian follows the Chinese pattern. It groups its simple wh-pronouns with complex wh-phrases like *which book,* leaving only *how* and *why* in the category of the minimal wh-phrases. As a result, only these two are allowed to occur in spading. Although this—at first sight—exotic correlation between Eastern Norwegian and Chinese clearly needs further empirical support, both language-internally[5] and cross-linguistically, there is one indication in the data in (5) that it is on the right track. As indicated by the English translation of the example in

(5)d, *hvordan* 'how' when used in spading does not ask for a means. Rather, it asks for the reason or cause behind the preceding statement in the discourse.[6] This correlates nicely with the findings of Tsai (1999) that not all uses of *how* and *why* are disallowed to occur in situ inside islands in Chinese. One of the two readings of *how* he discerns that are disallowed in islands (i.e. that have to move at LF) is "causal *how*."[7] This kind of fine-grained parallelism between the use of *how* in these two languages further strengthens the correlation I have drawn between them.

The data in (6)–(8) exemplify three more parallelisms between spading in Eastern Norwegian and its counterparts in dialect Dutch and Frisian. The minimal pair in (6) shows that once again, the main stress falls on the demonstrative pronoun rather than on the wh-phrase, while (7) shows that spading in Eastern Norwegian is disallowed in nonelliptical wh-questions. The pair in (8) on the other hand shows that neither spading nor clefts with a wh-pivot can be modified by negation.[8]

(6) Hvorfor DET? / * HVORFOR det?
why that_{DEM} / why that_{DEM}
'Why?' [Eastern Norwegian]

(7) Hvorfor (*det) har Jens kjøpt ny bil?
why that_{DEM} has Jens bought new car
'Why has Jens bought a new car?' [Eastern Norwegian]

(8) a. A: Jens kommer ikke. B: * Hvordan <ikke> det <ikke>?
Jens comes not how not that_{DEM} not
b. * Hvordan er det ikke at Jens (ikke) kommer?
how is that_{DEM} not $\text{that}_{\text{C}^\circ}$ Jens not comes [Eastern Norwegian]

At first sight, however, the parallelism with dialect Dutch and Frisian spading breaks down in (9) and (10).

(9) a. A: Kommer Jens til festen for å see Marit?
comes Jens to the.party for to see Mary
B: Hvorfor <*det> ellers <*det>?
why that_{DEM} else that_{DEM}
'A: Is Jens coming to the party to see Mary? B: Why else?'
b. Hvorfor <?ellers> er det <ellers> at Jens kommer?
why else is that_{DEM} else $\text{that}_{\text{C}^\circ}$ Jens comes
'Why else is it that Jens is coming?' [Eastern Norwegian]

(10) [Context: two people standing next to the body of a girl who has just killed herself by jumping off a high building; person A shakes his head in disbelief and says to person B:]

a. Hvorfor (#det)?
why that_{DEM}
'Why?'

b. Hvorfor er det at hun har gjort det?
why is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C^\circ}$ she has done that$_{DEM}$
'Why is it that she has done that?' [Eastern Norwegian]

The data in (9)a and (10)a illustrate that spading cannot be modified by *ellers* 'else' and that it cannot be pragmatically controlled. As (9)b and (10)b show, however, neither of these two characteristics holds for clefts with a wh-pivot in Eastern Norwegian. As such, these data seem to suggest that spading in Eastern Norwegian is not as closely related to clefts as its dialect Dutch and Frisian counterparts are. What I want to suggest, though, is that this difference is only apparent. With respect to the data in (9), it is worth pointing out that the Eastern Norwegian word *det* is homophonous between the personal pronoun 'it' and the demonstrative pronoun 'that'. This means that the acceptability of the pragmatically controlled cleft in (9)b might simply reduce to the fact that clefts in which the matrix subject position is occupied by (an equivalent of) *it* can be pragmatically controlled. Consider in this respect the Wambeek Dutch contrast (from chapter 5, section 5.2.4) in (11).

(11) [Context: a contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise; she is given five minutes to think about the issue, after which the game show host walks up to her holding a picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand; he says:]

a. # Wou is da da ge gekeuzen etj?
who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C^\circ}$ you chosen have
'Who is it that you have chosen?'

b. Wou is 't da ge gekeuzen etj?
who is it that$_{C^\circ}$ you chosen have
'Who is it that you have chosen?' [Wambeek Dutch]

Moreover, given one extra assumption, the data in (10) can also be made to follow from the proposal made in the preceding chapters. Suppose that the Eastern Norwegian particle *ellers* 'else' when combined with a wh-phrase causes that wh-phrase to act as if it were complex.[9] That would prevent it from occurring in spading, regardless of whether *ellers* 'else' is allowed in clefts or not. Although such an account clearly requires further elaboration, it should be clear that the data in (9) and (10) do not necessarily pose a serious threat for the analysis of spading developed in the preceding chapters.

Having said all this, however, there is one respect in which Eastern Norwegian spading clearly differs from dialect Dutch and Frisian spading as I have discussed. Consider (12).

(12) Hvorfor det at Jens har kjøpt ny bil?
why that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C^\circ}$ Jens has bought new car.
'Why has Jens bought a new car?' [Eastern Norwegian]

This example shows that Eastern Norwegian has the option of adding to a spading example the clause that the demonstrative pronoun *det* 'that' refers to. As (13) shows, this is not at all possible in the Dutch spading dialects.

(13)	* Wuiroem	da	da	Jef	ne	nieven	otto	gekocht	eit?	
	why	that_{DEM}	$\text{that}_{\text{C}^\circ}$	Jeff	a	new	car	bought	has	[Wambeek Dutch]

As in the previous section, I leave an in-depth discussion of spading in Eastern Norwegian, as well as of its precise relation to the construction in (12), as a topic for further research.[10] What has emerged from the preceding discussion is that adding a demonstrative pronoun to a sluiced wh-phrase is by no means the privilege of Dutch dialects and Frisian; moreover, that the cross-linguistic distribution of spading is a promising area of further research.

8.3 Other Instances of Stranding under Sluicing

8.3.1 Stranding *Dan* 'Then'

When confronted with a spading example, native speakers of standard Dutch (or more generally, nonspading dialects of Dutch) often refer to the construction exemplified in (14) as a near parallel of spading in their variety of Dutch.

(14) A: Ed heeft iemand gezien. B: Oh? Wie dan?
Ed has someone seen oh who then
'A: Ed saw someone. B: Really? Who?' [Dutch]

In B's reply in this dialogue, the sluiced wh-phrase *wie* 'who' is followed by the temporal adverb *dan* 'then'.[11] Interestingly, this example seems to express the same surprise-reading I discussed earlier for spading. By adding *dan* 'then' to the sluiced wh-phrase, speaker B expresses his surprise at John having seen someone. What I argue in this section, however, is that this construction is to be kept distinct from "genuine" spading. Moreover, I sketch two possible routes an analysis of this construction might take.

A first difference between this construction and spading concerns stress. Recall that I have shown that spading requires stress on the demonstrative pronoun, not on the sluiced wh-phrase. The minimal pair in (15) shows that the opposite pattern holds for the construction under discussion here.

(15) a. * Wie DAN?
who then
b. WIE dan?
who then
'Who?' [Dutch]

Second, unlike spading, this use of *dan* 'then' is not restricted to sluicing. In particular, this adverb can be added—with the same surprise-reading—to full wh-

questions, yes/no-questions, even simple declaratives. This is shown in (16). (And as indicated in the translations, the same facts hold for English.)

(16) a. Wie heb je gezien dan?
who have you seen then
'Who did you see then?'

b. Komt Ed ook dan?
comes Ed also then
'Is Ed also coming then?'

c. Ed heeft Julia gezien dan?
Ed has Julia seen then
'Ed saw Julia then?' [Ducth]

Third, while spading is disallowed when combined with *niet* 'not,' *wel* 'AFF', or *nog meer* 'else,' this does not hold for *dan* 'then'. This is illustrated for *nog meer* 'else' in (17).

(17) A: Ed heeft niet alleen Julia uitgenodigd. B: Nee? Wie nog meer dan?
Ed has not just Julia invited no who else more then
'A: Ed didn't just invite Julia. B: No? Who else?' [Dutch]

Fourth, while complex wh-phrases are disallowed in spading, they can be followed by *dan* 'then' when sluiced.[12]

(18) A: Je moet één van je boeken aan Ed geven.
you must one of your books to Ed give
B: Oh ja? Welk boek dan?
oh yes which book then
'A: You should give one of your books to Ed. B: Really? Which book?' [Dutch]

Summing up, it is clear that the construction in (14) should be kept distinct from spading. Although the two constructions share some superficial similarities, the differences between them are too substantial to be ignored. As a result, I believe the analysis of this construction should also be quite different from that of spading. Although I will not go into details here, the crucial observation seems to be that in spite of the fact that *dan* 'then' occurs in clause-final position, it is not contained in the ellipsis site when the IP is sluiced. This suggests that this adverb occupies a fairly high position in the structure. In order to implement this, two general approaches come to mind. On the one hand, it might be the case that *dan* 'then' is merged in a head position higher than CP_1 and attracts the entire clause to its specifier. On the other hand, *dan* 'then' could also be right-adjoined to CP_1. Further research will have to determine which of these two approaches—if any—is on the right track. What is relevant here is that in spite of first appearances, the standard Dutch construction exemplified in (14) has little or nothing to do with spading.

8.3.2 Stranding Adverbial Modifiers

As a final expansion of the data set of this first case study, I want to focus on a construction type that has already featured at several points in the preceding discussion. It concerns the behavior of adverbial modifiers under sluicing. Consider some basic data in (19) and (20).

(19) A: Ed called one of his friends. B: Who exactly?

(20) A: Lewie eid iejn va zen kammeruite gezien. B: Wou just?
Louis has one of his friends seen who exactly
'A: Louis saw one of his friends. B: Who exactly?' [Wambeek Dutch]

At first sight, these data seem fairly straightforward. In both cases, an adverbial modifier has adjoined to a wh-phrase, this conglomerate has then undergone wh-movement to specCP, and at PF the IP has been elided (i.e. sluiced). This neat picture becomes more complicated, however, when swiping is added to the English example and spading to the Dutch one. Consider the data in (21)–(22).[13]

(21) Ed will give a talk tomorrow, but I don't know what <*exactly> about <exactly>.

(22) A: Lewie eid iejn va zen kammeruite gezien.
Louis has one of his friends seen
B: Wou <*just> da <just>?
who exactly that$_{DEM}$ exactly
'A: Louis saw one of his friends. B: Who exactly?' [Wambeek Dutch]

Given that in both these examples, an independent lexical element (a swiped preposition in (21) and a spaded demonstrative in (22)) intervenes between the wh-phrase and the adverbial modifier, it seems highly unlikely that the two form a single constituent at Spell-Out. In other words, these data illustrate that both swiping and spading can be used as a constituency diagnostic for elements that have undergone sluicing. Although I will not provide a fully worked out analysis of the construction in (19)–(22) here, I do want to sketch the broad outlines of a possible approach (see Van Craenenbroeck 2005a, 2005b for more detailed discussion). As pointed out by McCloskey (2000:63–64n8), there is a striking resemblance in distribution between adverbial modifiers such as *exactly* and *precisely* on the one hand and the floating quantifier *all* in West Ulster English on the other. Consider the examples in (23) and (24) (McCloskey 2000:61, 63n8).

(23) a. What all did he say that he wanted?
b. What did he say all that he wanted?
c. What did he say that he wanted all? [West Ulster English]

(24) a. What exactly did he say that he wanted?
b. What did he say exactly that he wanted?
c. What did he say that he wanted exactly? [English]

McCloskey (2000) argues at length that the examples in (23) should be taken to show that the quantifier *all* in West Ulster English can be pied-piped by the wh-phrase it modifies (as in (23)a) or stranded by it (either in the base position as in (23) c or in an intermediate position—here, the embedded specCP—as in (23)b). In other words, *all* has the typical distribution of a floating quantifier (though it is atypical in that it can be stranded under A-bar-movement; see McCloskey's article for discussion). The fact that the adverbial modifier *exactly* in (24) has exactly the same distribution as *all* in (23) suggests that the two should be given a unified account. That is, when modifying a wh-phrase, adverbial modifiers such as *exactly* have the distribution (and the syntax) of a floating quantifier.

This observation allows for a fairly straightforward analysis of the combination of adverbial modification and swiping/spading in (21)–(22). In particular, the clause-final position of the adverbial modifier can now be taken as an indication that this element has been stranded by the wh-phrase in $specCP_2$ on its way to $specCP_1$. The fact that the pied-piped version is degraded then suggests that adjoining an adverbial modifier to a wh-phrase causes this wh-phrase to behave as if it were complex (see in this respect also note 2 of chapter 7). Needless to say, this line of approach immediately raises a number of questions and can only be considered a first step toward an analysis. As this is not the purpose of this section, I leave it at that; Van Craenenbroeck (2005a, 2005b) has more details. The main conclusion to be drawn from this section is that under the analysis presented in the previous chapters, both spading and swiping can be used as a constituency diagnostic for phrases that have undergone sluicing.[14]

8.4 Conclusion

As indicated in the introduction, the purpose of this chapter was twofold. First, I have shown that the occurrence of spading is not limited to dialect Dutch and Frisian, and that an in-depth cross-linguistic analysis of this phenomenon might shed further light on the issues raised here. Second, I have discussed two other instances of stranding under sluicing. The first one involves the stranding of the temporal adverb *dan* 'then' to the right of sluiced wh-phrases. I have argued that this construction should be kept distinct from spading, in spite of the fact that it looks similar at first glance. And I have shown that when applied to constructions in which a sluiced wh-phrase is combined with an adverbial modifier, both spading and swiping can be used as a constituency diagnostic.

9

Conclusion and Theoretical Implications

9.1 Conclusion

In the preceding seven chapters, I have examined in detail two constructions in which overt material is stranded to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. Both constructions, I have argued, can be successfully analyzed by means of a PF-deletion analysis of sluicing in combination with a view on the CP-domain that assumes there to be (at least) two separate C°-projections. In the first construction, a demonstrative pronoun moves independently of the wh-phrase to the specifier of the low CP (CP_2 in my account) and hence survives the ellipsis process involved in sluicing. In the other construction, a preposition is stranded in this same projection by the moving wh-phrase. Moreover, the specific distribution of these two phenomena follows straightforwardly from their interaction with the split CP-domain. In particular, the different CP-domain-internal syntax of complex and minimal wh-phrases has led to the conclusion that sluicing does not always delete the same part of the clausal structure. This means that material that is stranded in the lower specCP is sometimes contained in the ellipsis site, and sometimes not.

9.2 Theoretical Implications

Although some of the theoretical implications of the proposals made in this first case study have already—implicitly or explicitly—featured in the preceding discussion, it is worth going over them again here, as it will place the data and the analyses I have presented against a much broader theoretical background.

9.2.1 The Theory of Ellipsis and Sluicing

First, I want to focus on the implications of the preceding discussion for the analysis of sluicing. Recall from chapter 1 that there are two main approaches to this construction: one that assumes the IP to be fully syntactically merged but PF-deleted, and one in which it is merged as a null, structureless non-DP proform. In chapter 5, I demonstrated that both spading and swiping receive a natural and straightforward account under the PF-deletion approach to sluicing. Here I will argue that a *pro*-analysis fares much worse when confronted with data such as those in (1) and (2).

(1) Jef eid iemand gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
Jeff has someone seen but I know not who that$_{\text{DEM}}$
'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(2) Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

These examples present at least five substantial problems for *pro*-theories of sluicing. The first one concerns the Case of the sluiced wh-phrase in spading. Recall that while object wh-phrases that occur in "regular" sluicing are obligatorily marked with accusative Case, in spading it is invariably the nominative form that is used. Given that under a *pro*-analysis both wh-phrases are merged directly in specCP, it is unclear how this Case difference can come about. One could argue that it is the presence of the demonstrative pronoun that influences the Case of the wh-phrase, but rather than provide an explanation, that just seems to add to the mystery. A second point concerns the mere presence of the demonstrative pronoun. Given that *pro*$_{\text{IP}}$ has no internal structure, the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that' in the example in (1) must have been merged directly in specCP as well. This immediately raises the question of how to restrict this merger operation. That is, it remains unclear why some phrases (e.g. wh-phrases or demonstrative pronouns) can be merged to the left of *pro*$_{\text{IP}}$, while others (e.g. non-wh DPs or personal pronouns) cannot. Third, recall that there are a number of empirical parallelisms between spading and clefts with a wh-pivot (see chapter 3, section 3.2.6). Even if one were to claim that the IP-proform takes a cleft as its antecedent,[1] this by no means implies that it should display the same syntactic behavior as well. In order to see why this is so, consider (3).

(3) a. Ed denkt dat het regent, maar Julia denkt <dat> niet <*dat>.
Ed thinks that$_{\text{C°}}$ it rains but Julia thinks that$_{\text{DEM}}$ not that$_{\text{DEM}}$
'Ed thinks it's raining, but Julia doesn't.'

b. Ed denkt dat het regent, maar Julia denkt
Ed thinks that$_{\text{C°}}$ it rains but Julia thinks
<*dat het regent> niet <dat het regent>.
that$_{\text{C°}}$ it rains not that$_{\text{C°}}$ it rains
'Ed thinks it's raining, but Julia doesn't.' [Dutch]

In (3)a, the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that' has as its antecedent the CP *dat het regent* 'that it rains' (see also chapter 14 for discussion of such proforms). This does not mean, however, that it behaves syntactically like a CP as well. As the contrast

between (3)a and (3)b shows, while the proform *dat* 'that' obligatorily occurs to the left of the negator *niet* 'not' (as all definite DPs do), CPs such as *dat het regent* 'that it rains' invariably show up to its right. Transferred to the case at hand, this means that the fact that pro_{IP} takes a cleft as its antecedent does not imply that it starts behaving like one syntactically.[2] As such, the absence of multiple wh, pragmatic control, and modification by *nog* 'else', *niet* 'not', and *wel* 'AFF' remains unexplained under a *pro*-analysis of sluicing.

The fourth point concerns the different behavior of complex and minimal wh-phrases in the examples in (1) and (2). Recall that under the PF-deletion approach, this follows from the precise projection that is deleted by sluicing. This generalization is much harder to formulate under a *pro*-account, however. Although it would in principle be possible to claim that it is either IP or CP_2 that is pronominalized, it is hard to see what would be gained by such a move. Specifically, one would expect there to be only a limited set of proforms available, not a separate one for each functional projection (see also the second case study in this book in part II for extensive discussion). Such a proposal would reintroduce the internal structure of the ellipsis site that the *pro*-analysis wants to do away with in the first place.

Fifth and finally, it is unclear how a *pro*-analysis of sluicing can provide an explanation for the fact that both spading and swiping only occur under sluicing. While I have shown this to be the result of an ellipsis-induced repair effect of a violation at PF, it is hard to see what would prevent one from replacing the IP-proform by a fully explicit syntactic structure in examples such as those in (1) and (2). All in all, then, it seems fair to say that both spading and swiping provide strong evidence in favor of a PF-deletion approach to sluicing and against an account that postulates an IP-proform.[3]

Second, I want to focus on the fact that the theory of spading as I have presented it provides a new argument against approaches to ellipsis that assume this process to be subject to a structural isomorphism requirement; that is, a phrase can only be elided if it has an antecedent that is *syntactically and structurally* identical to the elided phrase (see e.g. Fiengo and May 1994). This position has been criticized recently by a number of authors (see e.g. Kehler 2002, Merchant 2001:chap. 1, Potsdam 2007; though see Merchant 2007, 2008a for a recent defense of the isomorphism approach), and it is clear that spading provides a new and powerful argument in this debate. If the analysis I have presented is on the right track, a sentence such as the one in (4)a can serve as an antecedent for the ellipsis schematically represented in (4)b. As it is clear that the elided clause and its antecedent are by no means syntactically or structurally identical, these data provide a strong argument against theories that assume such a requirement to be a prerequisite for ellipsis.

(4) a. Ik em iemand gezien.
I have someone seen
'I saw someone.'

b. Wou da ~~t_{da} is t_{wou} da ge gezien etj?~~
who $that_{DEM}$ is $that_{C°}$ you seen have
'Who (is it that you saw)?' [Wambeek Dutch]

Third, I want to focus on a notion that has played a crucial role in the preceding discussion: that of repair effects induced by ellipsis, that is, the ability of ellipsis to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation or representation by making the offending structure invisible to PF. My analysis of spading has provided support for Richards's (2001) implementation of the interaction between the overt/covert-distinction and feature strength. In particular, covert movement triggered by a weak feature on a functional head becomes overt when the complement of that head is elided. On the other hand, in my analysis of swiping I have introduced a new type of repair effect, one that can be seen as the PF-counterpart of Chomsky's (1995:91) notion of Chain Uniformity at LF. I have argued that a chain of successive-cyclic movement has to be uniform at PF with respect to the category of its chain links. Ellipsis can rescue offending chains, however, by deleting a subset of its chain links.

Fourth, I want to point out that the very existence of a construction such as spading seems to give empirical weight to the conjecture made by Merchant (2001:101n11) that when asked to judge examples involving sluicing, informants often resort to an underlying cleft structure. The foregoing discussion of spading shows that the relation between sluicing and clefts is a very real (and syntactic) one. The demonstrative in spading can be seen as providing overt evidence for a structure that under other circumstances (i.e. with an underlying *it*-cleft) would remain invisible. This means that researchers of "regular" sluicing should always make sure that the structure they are investigating is not an elided cleft structure. On the other hand, certain irregularities of sluicing could find an explanation in the fact that the ellipsis site might also contain a cleft structure. One possible example in this respect concerns language-internal exceptions to Merchant's (2001:107) generalization that "a language *L* will allow preposition-stranding under sluicing iff *L* allows preposition stranding under regular wh-movement." As pointed out by Rosen (1976), some prepositions that disallow preposition stranding in nonelliptical wh-questions nevertheless seem to be able to strand under sluicing. As the data in (5) show, *under* is such a preposition (Rosen 1976:208n1).

(5) a. *I can only guess which circumstances he would report me under.
    b. He would report me under some circumstances, but I can only guess which.

As (5)a shows, the preposition *under* can—at least in this particular structure—not be stranded. Given that it does not occur in the sluicing remnant in (5)b, however, it appears to have undergone preposition stranding in this example. As such, these examples seem to constitute a language-internal counterexample to Merchant's generalization. In light of the preceding discussion, though, another possibility presents itself. The elided structure might be a cleft in which the preposition *under* does not feature. This is represented in (6).

(6) He would report me under some circumstances, but I can only guess which ~~circumstances it was~~.

Although this analysis should clearly be seen as tentative and in need of further support, it does look like a promising route to take (see also in this respect Van Craenenbroeck 2007).

Fifth and finally, I want to raise here the point that has featured most explicitly in the preceding discussion. The analysis of spading and swiping has led to the conclusion that sluicing does not always delete the same part of the clausal structure. From a cross-linguistic point of view, this is not a new conclusion. Given that it is well established that moved wh-phrases do not occupy the same structural position in all languages and given that traditional accounts of sluicing assume that it deletes the complement of the head the specifier of which hosts the moved wh-phrase, different languages will sluice different parts of the clausal structure. As an illustration, consider (7)–(8) (the former is from Merchant 2001:81–82).

(7) A gyerekek találkoztak valakivel de nem emlékszem, hogy kivel.
the children met someone.with but not I.remember that$_{C°}$ who.with
'The children met someone, but I don't know who.' [Hungarian]

(8) Ed invited someone, but I don't know who.

While wh-phrases move overtly to specFocP in Hungarian (see Lipták 2001 and references cited there), they surface in specCP in English. This means that in Hungarian it is the complement of Foc° (call it IP) that is deleted, while in English it is the complement of C°, that is (assuming the two languages to have the same functional structure), FocP. (See Van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2005, 2006 for extensive discussion of this type of variation.) What *is* new about the account I have proposed is that this variability in the size of the deleted phrase can also be witnessed within one and the same language. In particular, I have argued that while sluicing with complex wh-phrases deletes CP_2, sluicing with minimal ones deletes IP.

9.2.2 The Structure of CP and the Syntax of Wh-Movement

The theoretical implications of chapter 4 deserve to be mentioned here as well. First, I have brought together a body of evidence in favor of a particular incarnation of the split CP-hypothesis. I have argued for the existence of two separate C°-projections in which the clause typing and the operator properties of wh-questions are located, respectively.[4] Such a separation between these two types of properties is a welcome result, I believe, as it is well known that they can be separated from one another in the data as well. For example, while relative clauses display the operator but not the clause typing properties of wh-words, wh-questions with complex wh-phrases in Romanian show exactly the opposite pattern (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). As I have pointed out, it remains to be seen to what extent the proposal made here is compatible with other—usually much richer—accounts of the CP-domain. Given that most of these accounts assume the same basic hierarchy as I have here (i.e. clause typing dominates focus), the answer might be affirmative.

Second, the particular view of the CP-domain I have adopted also entails a particular view on the syntax of wh-movement. I have proposed that there

are considerable differences in CP-domain-internal syntax between complex and minimal wh-phrases (whereby the definition of 'complexity' might be subject to cross-linguistic variation; see earlier, section 4.4.1). This, too, is a desirable result, it seems, as a growing body of literature from a very diverse set of languages points to the relevance of DP-internal syntactic complexity in the syntax of wh-movement (see e.g. Aoun and Li 2003, Bergvall 1983, Munaro 1998, Poletto and Pollock 2002, Zanuttini and Portner 2003). It seems reasonable to assume, then, that the internal complexity of wh-phrases should be taken into account in the syntax of wh-movement in some way.[5]

This page intentionally left blank

PART II

SECOND CASE STUDY: SHORT DO REPLIES AS TP-PROFORMS

This page intentionally left blank

Short Do Replies

Introduction

The construction exemplified in (1) constitutes the main empirical focus of the second case study of this book.

(1) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
    Mary sees Peter not gladly

B: Ze duut.
   she does
‘A: Mary doesn’t love Peter. B: Yes, she does.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, B contradicts A’s negative statement by means of a short, elliptical reply consisting of a personal pronoun and a conjugated form of the verb *duun* ‘do’. I will henceforth refer to such sentences as Short Do Replies (SDRs). Although this construction shares with the sluicing data discussed in the preceding chapters the fact that it is an instance of ellipsis, the approach I will adopt toward these data will be quite different from the one outlined earlier. I argue in detail that the ellipsis site in examples such as (1)B contains no internal structure and hence is best represented as a null, structureless proform. This line of reasoning will bring into the debate several elements usually associated with the literature on pro-drop. Moreover, it will allow me to unify the account of dialect Dutch SDRs with that of the constructions exemplified in (2) and (3).

(2) A: Marie gaat nie naar de film.
Mary goes not to the movie
B: Da's wel.
that.is AFF
'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.' [Brabant Dutch]

(3) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow
B: Jui-s.
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In (2), B contradicts A's statement by means of a short reply consisting of the proform *da* 'that', a conjugated form of the copula *zijn* 'be', and the affirmative adverb *wel* 'AFF'. The example in (3) illustrates that in some Dutch dialects, the polarity markers 'yes' and 'no' can be combined with a subject clitic. In what follows, I argue that both these constructions are crucially related to SDRs. Specifically, I demonstrate that the syntactic structure underlying B's reply in (3) is identical to that in (1)B; I identify the *da*-element in (2)B as the overt counterpart of the null proform that I postulate in the analysis of (1)B. In other words, the considerations in the following chapters will lead to a unified account of these three constructions that at first sight appear to be unrelated.

This second case study is organized as follows. In the next chapter, I introduce the core data that form the main explananda for the rest of the discussion. I demonstrate at length that the dialect Dutch construction in (1)B should not be equated with English VP-ellipsis, or with paraphrases featuring the main verb *duun* 'do'. In this chapter, I also point out how the data lead to the conclusion that the ellipsis site in this construction contains no internal structure. In chapter 12, I introduce the main theoretical background assumptions needed for my analysis. The analysis itself is presented in chapter 13. In chapter 14, I examine the construction illustrated in (2)B and argue that it contains an overt counterpart of the empty proform postulated in the analysis of Short Do Replies. Finally, in chapter 15, I turn to the phenomenon exemplified in (3)B and argue that this construction is derived from the same syntactic structure as that which underlies SDRs. chapter 16 concludes and considers some of the theoretical consequences of the analyses.

11

The Data

11.1 Short Do Replies

Consider again some representative examples, in (1) and (2), of the construction under discussion here.

(1) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly

B: Z'en duut.
she.NEG does

'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(2) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
Mary sees Peter not gladly

B: Ze duut.
she does

'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In (1), B contradicts A's affirmative statement by means of a short elliptical reply consisting of a subject pronoun, a preverbal negative clitic, and a conjugated form of the verb *duun* 'do'. Given that the English translation of this example is almost word for word identical and given that a reply such as *No, she doesn't* is commonly analyzed as a case of VP-ellipsis, the null hypothesis seems to be that the Wambeek Dutch example involves VP-ellipsis as well.[1] Moreover, as (2) shows, SDRs are not restricted to negative replies. Without the negative clitic, they can be used to contradict a preceding negative statement, again just like their English

counterparts.[2] In section 11.2, however, I argue that the parallelism between SDRs and VP-ellipsis is only superficial. The two constructions will be shown to pattern differently with respect to a large number of tests. At the same time, this comparison will lead to the conclusion that the ellipsis site in SDRs does not contain any internal structure and hence is best represented as a null proform. This in turn will raise the hypothesis that SDRs are related to paraphrases consisting of the main verb *duun* 'do' and the VP-proform *da* 'that' (section 11.3). However, this hypothesis will prove to be untenable as well. The conclusion, then, will be that SDRs constitute an as-yet-undiscussed type of ellipsis, which I will analyze in the following chapters.

Before I proceed with the exposition of the basic data, a few remarks on their cross-dialectal validity are in order. Short Do Replies are found in the dialects spoken in French Flanders (in northeastern France) and in the Belgian provinces of West Flanders, East Flanders, and the western part of Flemish Brabant. The data I present in this chapter have been systematically checked for the dialects of Izenberge, Waregem, Klemskerke (West Flanders), Kleit (East Flanders), and Wambeek (Flemish Brabant). Moreover, I have checked my data against a dialect questionnaire on SDRs that the Meertens Institute sent out in 1981 to 145 of its informants.[3] For ease of exposition and reasons of consistency, I present data from only one dialect here (that of Wambeek), turning to other dialects only if the structure of the argument forces me to do so, or in the case of cross-dialectal variation. Note also that I am only discussing the *synchronic* use of SDRs here. This is a nontrivial point, as this construction (as well as related ones; see chapter 15) occurs in older stages of Dutch as well (even going back to Middle Dutch), often with slightly differing properties. As a full exploration of the diachronic development of this construction is clearly beyond the scope of this book, I relegate the diachronic data to the footnotes.

11.2 SDRs = VP-Ellipsis?

In this section, I present an in-depth comparison of dialect Dutch SDRs with English VP-ellipsis. I discuss ten empirical differences between the two constructions, thus rendering highly unlikely the hypothesis that SDRs are an instance of VP-ellipsis. At the same time, the data will also allow for a more positive conclusion concerning the nature of the gap in SDRs.

11.2.1 Distribution

The most striking difference between the two constructions is their language-internal distribution. Consider first some basic English data in (3).

(3) a. A: Ed loves Julia.
B: No, he doesn't.

b. Ed loves Julia, and Freddy does too.

c. Ed loves Julia more than Freddy does.

d. Ed reads every book that Julia does.

e. A: Ed loves Julia.
B: I think he doesn't.

f. A: Does Ed love Julia?
B: No, he doesn't.

g. A: Who loves Julia?
B: Ed does.

These examples show that VP-ellipsis occurs not only in short contradictory replies to declarative clauses, (3)a, but also in coordinations, (3)b, comparatives, (3)c, ACD-constructions, (3)d, embedded clauses, (3)e, replies to yes/no-questions, (3)f, and replies to subject-wh-questions, (3)g. Consider in (4) the Wambeek Dutch counterparts of these data.

(4) a. A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly
B: Z'en duut.
she.NEG does
'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.'

b. *Marie zie Pierre geirn, en Jef duud oek.
Mary sees Peter gladly and Jeff does too

c. *Marie zie Pierre liever dan da Jef duut.
Mary sees Peter more.gladly than thatC° Jeff does

d. *Marie leest elken boek da Pierre duut.
Mary reads every book thatC° Peter does

e. A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly
B: *Ik paus da z'en duut.
I think thatC° she.NEG does

f. A: Zie Marie Pierre geirn?
sees Mary Peter gladly
B: *Nieje, z'en duut.
no she.NEG does

g. A: Wou ziet Pierre geirn?
who sees Peter gladly
B: *Marie duut.
Mary does [Wambeek Dutch]

As the contrast between (3) and (4) shows, dialect Dutch SDRs differ from English VP-ellipsis in that they can only occur in short contradictory replies to declarative clauses, while the distribution of VP-ellipsis is much wider.[4] This alone constitutes a serious problem for any account that tries to unify the two constructions. However, I

will show that even if attention is restricted to instances of VP-ellipsis found in short replies to declarative clauses, the differences between the two constructions are still substantial.

11.2.2 *There*-Expletives

When the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive, SDRs also pattern differently from VP-ellipsis. Consider (5) and (6).

(5) A: There were many people at the party.

B: a. No, there weren't.
b. *No, there wasn't.
c. *No, it wasn't.
d. *No, it weren't.

(6) A: Dui stonj drou mann inn of.
there stand_{PL} three men in.the garden

B: a. * Dui en doenj.
there NEG do_{PL}
b. * Dui en duut.
there NEG does
c. 't En duut.
it NEG does
d. * 't En duun.
it NEG do_{PL}

'A: There are three men standing in the garden. B: No, there aren't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The facts in (5) were first observed by Ross (1969). He pointed out that the subject position in a clause containing VP-ellipsis can be filled by a *there*-expletive, while the agreement on the auxiliary is determined by the elided associate DP (in this case the plural DP *many people*). The SDR-data in (6) pattern differently from the English ones in (5), in two respects. First, *there*-expletives are disallowed in the subject position of an SDR and are necessarily replaced by the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it'. Second, the agreement on the verb *duun* 'do' is necessarily third person singular, regardless of the number of the associate DP in the antecedent clause.[5] These data thus constitute a second noticeable difference between SDRs and VP-ellipsis.

11.2.3 Modals and Auxiliaries

English VP-ellipsis displays *do*-support only in the absence of other auxiliaries or modals. This can be illustrated very clearly on the basis of elliptical contradictory replies, where the modal or auxiliary from the antecedent clause is obligatorily repeated in the reply. Consider some representative examples in (7).

(7) a. A: Ed hasn't visited Julia.
B: (i) Yes, he has.
(ii) * Yes, he does.

b. A: Ed is cooking.
B: (i) No, he isn't.
(ii) * No, he doesn't.

c. A: Ed should come.
B: (i) No, he shouldn't.
(ii) * No, he doesn't.

d. A: Ed will come.
B: (i) No, he won't.
(ii) * No, he doesn't.

Once again, SDRs pattern completely differently. Regardless of which verb is used in the antecedent clause, the only verb that can occur in SDRs is *duun* 'do'.[6] This is illustrated in (8).

(8) a. A: Jef ei Marie nie gezien.
Jeff has Mary not seen
B: (i) * Ij eit.
he has
(ii) Ij duut.
he does
'A: Jeff hasn't seen Mary. B: Yes, he has.'

b. A: Marie is uint keuken.
Mary is to.it cooking
B: (i) * Z'en is.
she.NEG is
'A: Mary is cooking. B: No, she isn't.'
(ii) Z'en duut.
she.NEG does

c. A: Marie zou muute kommen.
Mary should must come
B: (i) * Z'en zou.
she.NEG should
(ii) Z'en duut.
she.NEG does
'A: Mary should come. B: No, she shouldn't.'

d. A: Marie gui kommen.
Mary goes come
B: (i) * Z'en guit.
she.NEG goes
(ii) Z'en duut.
she.NEG does
'A: Mary will come. B: No, she won't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The discrepancy between (7) and (8) extends even beyond modals and auxiliaries, once languages like Hebrew and Irish are taken into account. Note that English VP-ellipsis is disallowed with main verbs, as (9) illustrates.

(9) A: Ed loves Julia.
B: a. No, he doesn't.
b. * No, he loves not.

The standard account for the ungrammaticality of (9)Bb is that English main verbs do not raise to I° and hence are always part of the elided VP. This predicts that this construction should be grammatical in languages that have both VP-ellipsis and V°-to-I°-movement of main verbs. The Irish example in (10) (McCloskey 1991a:272) shows that this prediction is borne out. (See McCloskey 1991a for extensive argumentation that this example indeed involves VP-ellipsis, and see Doron 1999 and Goldberg 2005 for similar observations about Hebrew.)

(10) A: Ar chuir tú isteach air?
C_Q° put~PAST~ you in on.it
B: Chuir.
put~PAST~
'A: Did you apply for it? B: Yes, I did.' [Irish]

Given that all the dialects under discussion here are Verb Second languages (like Standard Dutch), in which not only modals and auxiliaries but also (finite) main verbs raise out of the VP in matrix clauses, they are expected to pattern with Irish if the derivation of SDRs really involves VP-ellipsis. It should come as no surprise by now that this is not the case. Consider the relevant Wambeek Dutch examples in (11).

(11) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly
B: a. Z'en duut.
she.NEG does
b. * Z'en ziet.
She.NEG sees
'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

11.2.4 Past Tenses

Related to the data discussed in the previous section is the presence or absence of past tenses in VP-ellipsis and SDRs. In English, when the antecedent clause to an elliptical reply is expressed by a simple past, the auxiliary in that reply has to be past tense as well. This is illustrated in (12).

(12) A: John loved Mary.
B: a. No, he didn't.
b. * No, he doesn't.

The options allowed for by SDRs are once again more limited. Not only do they obligatorily contain the verb *duun* 'do' but this verb cannot be past tense either, not even if the antecedent clause is.[7] Consider a representative example in (13).

(13) A: Marie zag Pierre geirn.
Mary saw Peter gladly
B: a. * Z'en dee.
she.NEG did
b. Z'en duut.
she.NEG does
'A: Mary loved Peter. B: No, she didn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

11.2.5 Co-occurrence with 'Yes' and 'No'

A fifth difference between VP-ellipsis and SDRs concerns the issue of whether they can co-occur with the polarity markers 'yes' and 'no'. Consider the data in (14) and (15).

(14) A: Ed loves Julia.
B: a. He doesn't.
b. No, he doesn't.

(15) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly
B: a. Z'en duut.
she.NEG does
b. ?* Nieje, z'en duut.
no she.NEG does
'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

While a negative VP-ellipsis reply can perfectly well be combined with *no,* adding *nieje* 'no' to a negative SDR yields a severely degraded result.[8] Affirmative replies appear to pattern very differently at first. Consider (16) and (17).

(16) A: Ed doesn't love Julia.
B: a. He does.
b. Yes, he does.

(17) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
Mary sees Peter not gladly

B: a. Ze duut.
she does
b. Jou ze duut.
yes she does
'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

As (17)Bb shows, the combination of *jou* 'yes' with an affirmative SDR does not lead to an ungrammatical result. The contrast between (15) and (17), then, seems to suggest that there is a substantial difference between negative and affirmative SDRs in this respect. What I want to argue, however, is that this difference is only apparent. There are clear indications that the *jou* 'yes' in the example in (17)Bb is not the same element as that used in replies to yes/no-questions. In order to fully make this point, I have to go quite deeply into the nitty-gritty details of discourse particles in Dutch dialects; as this would interrupt my main line of argumentation here, I postpone a full discussion of this issue to the appendix to this chapter. For now, I will limit myself to a first (yet strong) indication that the *jou* 'yes' in (17)Bb is to be distinguished from the regular yes/no-particle. Consider (18).

(18) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly
B: Jou z'en duut.
yes she.NEG does
'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

This example shows that *jou* 'yes' co-occurs not only with affirmative SDRs but also with negative ones. This is in sharp contrast with the affirmative particle found in replies to yes/no-questions, which is strongly incompatible with negative clauses.

(19) A: Kom Jef?
comes Jeff
B: * Jou, hij kom nie.
yes he comes not [Wambeek Dutch]

Moreover, *jou* 'yes' is not merely *compatible* with negative SDRs; it also has an emphatic effect. It strengthens the contradictory (i.e. negative) reading of the SDR in (18)B (and similarly for the affirmative reading in (17)Bb). The appendix to this chapter and the analysis of SDRs in chapter 13 have further discussion of this issue. The conclusion to be drawn from this section is that SDRs differ from VP-ellipsis in that SDRs are incompatible with 'yes' and 'no', while VP-ellipsis can be freely combined with these elements.

11.2.6 Co-Occurrence with Adverbs

Consider the data in (20)–(23).

(20) A: Julia always pays back her debts.
B: She often doesn't, you know.

(21) A: Ed lives here.
B: He doesn't anymore.

(22) A: Julia will come tomorrow.
B: No, she probably won't.

(23) A: Julia thinks you have a lot of money.
B: I don't, however.

These examples illustrate that VP-ellipsis can co-occur with a wide variety of adverbs: *often* and *anymore* are usually considered to be fairly low adverbs, while *probably* and *however* belong to the higher regions of the Cinquean hierarchy (Cinque 1999). Once again, SDRs allow for only a very small subset of the options available to VP-ellipsis. In this particular case, the only adverbs that can feature in SDRs are very high ones like *pertang* 'however' or *iejrlek gezeid* 'frankly'.[9] All other adverbs are excluded. This is exemplified in (24)–(27).

(24) A: Marie guid alted nui de mes.
Mary goes always to the mass
B: * Z'en duu geregeld.
she.NEG does often [Wambeek Dutch]

(25) A: Pierre woendj ie.
Peter lives here
B: * Ij en duu nie mieje.
he NEG does not anymore [Wambeek Dutch]

(26) A: Marie kom mergen.
Mary comes tomorrow
B: * Z'en duu wuirschaainlek.
she.NEG does probably [Wambeek Dutch]

(27) A: Jef zeit da gou veel geld etj.
Jeff says that you much money have
B: 'k En duu pertang.
I NEG do however
'A: Jeff says you have a lot of money. B: I don't, however.' [Wambeek Dutch]

These data thus constitute a sixth empirical difference between dialect Dutch SDRs and English VP-ellipsis.

11.2.7 Subject Restrictions

A seventh set of data that bears on the question of whether SDRs should be analyzed as an instance of VP-ellipsis is represented in (28)–(31).

(28) A: Ed loves woodcarving.
B: But Bill doesn't.

(29) A: Everybody loves Julia.
B: Ed doesn't.

(30) A: Pierre zie Marie geirn.
Peter sees Mary gladly
B: * Mo Jef en duut.
but Jeff NEG does
INTENDED READING: 'A: Peter loves Mary. B: But Jeff doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(31) A: Iederiejn zie Marie geirn.
everybody sees Mary gladly
B: * Jef en duut.
Jeff NEG does
INTENDED READING: 'A: Everybody loves Mary. B: Jeff doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Whereas short elliptical replies in English can feature a different subject from the one present in the antecedent clause (see (28)–(29)), this is not possible for SDRs (see (30)–(31)). In particular, the only kind of subject that can occur in an SDR is a weak pronoun that is coreferential with the subject of the antecedent clause.[10] This is illustrated in (32).[11]

(32) A: Marie kom mergen.
Mary comes tomorrow
B: a. Z'en duut.
she$_{\text{WEAK}}$.NEG does
b. * Zaai en duut.
she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ NEG does
c. * Marie en duut.
Mary NEG does
'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, she isn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

There are two exceptions to this generalization, one of which I have already mentioned. First, some of the dialects discussed here allow the weak subject pronoun in an SDR to be doubled by a postverbal strong subject pronoun.[12]

Consider the data in (33) (which should be read as replies to A's statement in (32)).[13]

(33)	a.	Z'en	doe	zij.	[Waregem Dutch]
	b.	? Z'en	duu	zaai.	[Wambeek Dutch]
	c.	?*Z'en	doe	zij.	[Kleit Dutch]
	d.	?*Z'en	doet	zij.	[Klemskerke Dutch]
	e.	*Z'en	doe	zij.	[Izenberge Dutch]
		sheWEAK.NEG	does	sheSTRONG	
		'No, she doesn't.'			

Second, when the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive, the subject of the SDR is not *dui* 'there' but rather the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it'. Reconsider example (6) from section 11.2.2 (partially repeated here as (34)).

(34) A: Dui stonj drou mann inn of.
there standPL three men in.the garden

B: a. * Dui en duut.
there NEG does

b. 't En duut.
it NEG does

'A: There are three men standing in the garden. B: No, there aren't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Interestingly, the use of *'t* 'it' as an SDR-subject seems to be gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns. Put differently, there are a number of Dutch dialects that used to have a full paradigm of SDRs but nowadays only use *'t doet* 'it does' to contradict a negative statement and *'t en doet* 'it NEG does' to contradict an affirmative statement, regardless of what the subject in the antecedent clause looks like.[14] I return to this development in chapter 13. The conclusion to be drawn from this section is that while VP-ellipsis imposes no restrictions on its subject, SDRs co-occur with only a very limited set of subjects.

11.2.8 Co-occurrence with Wh-Movement

The eighth difference I want to discuss here concerns the fact that a VP-ellipsis site can host the tail of a wh-movement chain (see Merchant 2008, Schuyler 2002). Consider (35) (from López 1999:286n17, who cites Tancredi 1992:113).

(35) A: Who did John introduce to Mary?
B: I don't know. Who did Peter [*e*]?

In this dialogue, B's reply is interpreted as *Who did Peter introduce to Mary?* As such, the trace of the moved wh-phrase *who* is situated inside the ellipsis site, in the object position of the elided verb *introduce*.[15] The example in (36) shows that the ellipsis site in an SDR cannot host such a trace.[16]

(36) A: Ik weet wou da Marie geire ziet.
I know who that Mary gladly sees

B: * En wou en duu-se?
and who NEG does.she

INTENDED: 'A: I know who Mary loves. B: And who doesn't she?' [Wambeek Dutch]

In fact, the wh-restriction on SDRs is even stronger than this example suggests. Even subject-wh-questions (where the trace would not be inside the ellipsis site) are incompatible with SDRs. This is shown in (37). As the English translation of this example illustrates, the subject of a clause containing VP-ellipsis can be freely wh-moved.

(37) A: Ik weet wou da Marie geire ziet.
I know who that Mary gladly sees

B: * En wou en duut?
and who NEG does

INTENDED READING: 'A: I know who loves Mary. B: Who doesn't?' [Wambeek Dutch]

Summing up, then, while VP-ellipsis is fully compatible with wh-movement, neither subject- nor object-wh-movement can occur in SDRs.

11.2.9 Pseudogapping

The point made in this section is very much related to the previous one. As is well known, apart from VP-ellipsis, English also has an elliptical construction that is known as pseudogapping (see Gengel 2007, Levin 1978, 1979), as in (38) (from Lasnik 1999b:142 who cites Sag 1980).

(38) A: Gee, I've never seen you on campus before.
B: Yea! Neither have I you.

In the wake of Jayaseelan (1990), it has become fairly standard to analyze pseudogapping as a combination of VP-ellipsis with prior extraction of a remnant (in this case *you*) out of the ellipsis site (see for example Johnson 1996, Kennedy and Merchant 2000a, Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001c, Takahashi 2004, Gengel 2007, and for some discussion see also chapter 5 here, section 5.2.4). If pseudogapping is indeed a subtype of VP-ellipsis, then data such as those in (38) represent yet another characteristic to distinguish SDRs from VP-ellipsis. Consider in this respect the example in (39).

(39) A: Pierre zie Marie geirn.
Peter sees Mary gladly

B: * Mo ij en duu Julia.
but he NEG does Julia

INTENDED READING: 'A: Peter loves Mary. B: But he doesn't Julia.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The ungrammaticality of B's reply illustrates that there is no pseudogapping variant of SDRs. As such, these data represent yet another empirical difference between SDRs and VP-ellipsis.

11.2.10 Periphrastic *Doen* 'Do' in Dutch Dialects

My tenth argument against the hypothesis that SDRs are to be analyzed as VP-ellipsis is more indirect. The reasoning goes as follows. A number of Dutch dialects use the verb *doen* 'do' in a periphrastic construction very reminiscent of English *do*-support. An example from the dialect of Panningen is (40).

(40) De kinger doen hier niet voetballe
the children do$_{PL}$ here not play.soccer$_{INF}$
'The children don't play soccer here.' [Panningen Dutch]

In this example, the main verb *voetballe* 'play soccer' appears in its infinitival form, while the verb *doen* 'do' carries the tense and agreement features. Although this dialectal construction differs from English *do*-support in that it can also occur in nonemphatic affirmative clauses, it does seem very tempting to try to unify the two phenomena (especially in light of the fact that in certain British dialects as well, *do*-support has this slightly wider distribution; see Schütze 2004 for data and a unified account). If this use of *doen* 'do' is indeed parallel to English *do*-support and by extension to *do*-support in English VP-ellipsis, and if SDRs are a combination of English-type *do*-support and VP-ellipsis, then one might expect a correlation between dialects that allow the construction exemplified in (40) and those displaying SDRs. This expectation is not borne out by the data. On the contrary, there is not a single dialect that features both the periphrastic *doen* construction illustrated in (40) and SDRs. This makes it highly unlikely that the two are related, which in turn casts doubt on the parallelism between English VP-ellipsis and dialect Dutch SDRs.

11.2.11 Taking Stock: VP-Ellipsis versus SDRs and PF-deletion versus *Pro*

The data discussed in the preceding ten sections leave little or no room for doubt. Dialect Dutch SDRs were shown to behave very differently from English VP-ellipsis with respect to a large number of tests. As a result, it seems fair to conclude that the two constructions are not—or at the very least not directly—related and that the initial hypothesis with which I began this chapter has to be abandoned. Table 11.1 summarizes the main empirical findings that have led to this conclusion.

These data also allow for a more positive conclusion. Several of the characteristics I have mentioned have been advanced in the literature as arguments in favor of a particular analysis of VP-ellipsis. Recall from chapter 1 that a lot of the research on ellipsis focuses on the question of how much unpronounced structure an ellipsis site can or must contain. With respect to VP-ellipsis in particular, this has led to two diametrically opposed views: one that argues that it involves a full-fledged but PF-deleted syntactic structure (Hankamer and Sag 1976, Johnson 1996, 2001, Merchant

TABLE 11.1. Comparison of dialect Dutch SDRs and English VP-ellipsis

	SDRs	*VP-ellipsis*
Distribution	Only in nonembedded contradictory replies	Coordinations, comparatives, ACD, replies to declarative clauses, yes/no-questions, and subject-wh-questions, embedded and main
There-expletive as subject	*	✓
Agreement with elided associate DP	*	✓
Modals and auxiliaries	*	✓
Past tenses	*	✓
Can co-occur with 'yes' and 'no'	*	✓
Co-occurrence with adverbs	Only very high adverbs	✓
Subject restrictions	Only weak personal pronouns	No restrictions
Co-occurrence with wh-movement	*	✓
Pseudogapping	*	✓
Patterns with periphrastic *doen* 'do'	*	*(Does not apply)*

2001, Ross 1969, Sag 1980, Sag and Hankamer 1984, Tomioka 1999, 2001) and one that maintains that the ellipsis site contains a null, structureless proform (Chao 1987, Hardt 1993, 1999, Lobeck 1995, 1999, López 1995, 1999, López and Winkler 2000, Zagona 1988). In the current state of the field, the first of these two hypotheses seems to have the edge. In order to show why, I have to return to some of the characteristics mentioned in table 11.1.[17]

A first argument in favor of PF-deletion theories of VP-ellipsis (discussed by Ross 1969) emerges in the context of *there*-expletive constructions. Consider the data in (41).

(41) a. I didn't think there were going to be many people at the party, but there were [*e*].
b. I didn't think there was going to be a famous linguist at the party, but there was [*e*].

These examples show that the subject position in a clause that has undergone VP-ellipsis (i.e. the *but*-clause in both examples) can be filled by a *there*-expletive. Moreover, the auxiliary of such a clause agrees with the unpronounced associate DP. In particular, in (41)a the verb *were* is plural because so is the DP *many people,* while in (41)b the verb *was* is singular in accordance with *a famous linguist.* Examples such as these raise two substantial problems for proform-theories of VP-ellipsis. The first one concerns the agreement marking on the auxiliary. Given that pro_{VP} is a null pronominal, it seems reasonable to assume that this element is

marked for (at least default) number. What is not clear, however, is how the number of *pro*$_{VP}$ can correlate with that of the associate DP in its antecedent. Recall that this null pronominal does not have any internal structure. This means that the associate DP is in no way syntactically present in the *but*-clauses in (41), so unless one makes the ad hoc assumption that the number of a *pro*$_{VP}$ correlates with that of the subject of its antecedent, the agreement facts in (41) remain completely mysterious under a proform-analysis of VP-ellipsis.[18] However, from the point of view of PF-deletion theories, these data pose no problem at all. Given that the ellipsis site contains a full-fledged syntactic structure, the fact that the auxiliary can agree with the elided associate DP follows naturally.

The second problem posed by the examples in (41) for *pro*-analyses of VP-ellipsis concerns the presence of the expletive pronoun *there* in the subject position of the *but*-clause. As is well known, in order for the occurrence of this element to be licit, it has to co-occur with an indefinite associate DP lower in the clause.[19] As far as PF-deletion theories of VP-ellipsis are concerned, this requirement is straightforwardly met. Given that the ellipsis site contains a fully merged syntactic structure, both examples in (41) contain an unpronounced copy of the associate DP in the (local) c-command domain of *there*. Once again, though, *pro*-analyses fare differently. Recall that under such an approach, the only element that occurs in the ellipsis site is a VP-proform. Given that pronominals are definite DPs, they are systematically excluded as *there*-associates.[20] This means that under the proform-analysis of VP-ellipsis, the occurrence of *there* in the subject position of a clause that has undergone VP-ellipsis should be illicit, due to the fact that there is no appropriate associate DP. The fact that the examples in (41) are perfectly well formed can then be seen as an argument against such an analysis.

The second set of data from table 11.1 that bears on this debate involves pseudogapping. Recall that this construction is commonly analyzed as a combination of VP-ellipsis with prior extraction of a DP or a PP (henceforth the remnant) out of the ellipsis site (Gengel 2007, Jayaseelan 1990, Johnson 1996, Kennedy and Merchant 2000a, Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001c, Takahashi 2004). This analysis is corroborated by the fact that the remnant obeys locality restrictions on movement (see Johnson 1996 for discussion). This implies that the ellipsis site has to contain a certain amount of structure to be able to host the trace of this movement operation. Under the PF-deletion analysis of VP-ellipsis, this structure is straightforwardly accommodated, but if the ellipsis site is a structureless null proform, there is simply no room for the trace. The standard reply from defenders of the *pro*-analysis is that pseudogapping is not a subtype of VP-ellipsis and hence is irrelevant to the discussion at hand (Hardt 1993:120–125, Lobeck 1999:100–106). It is rarely precisely specified, though, of exactly what pseudogapping *is* an instance. Although it is true that the restrictions on this construction are—for as yet unknown reasons—more strict than those on VP-ellipsis, a unified analysis of the two phenomena should surely be the null hypothesis, the extra restrictions following from independent considerations (such as the presence of an extra movement operation in pseudogapping).

The third argument is very much related to the previous one. Recall that VP-ellipsis can be combined with object-wh-movement.

(42) I know which chisel Ed likes and which one he doesn't.

Again, the ellipsis site has to contain enough structure to host a trace, and again *pro*-theories fail to provide this structure. Not surprisingly, then, advocates of such theories have argued that examples such (42) do not show what they are purported to show. Hardt (1993:17–19), for example, argues that (42) is an instance not of VP-ellipsis but of pseudogapping in which the remnant has been wh-moved. There are two reasons to doubt this argument. First, if pseudogapping is to be analyzed as VP-ellipsis (see earlier), then the argument does not go through, and examples like (42) are indeed problematic for *pro*-theories of VP-ellipsis. Second, there are facts that suggest that examples such as (42) should not be equated with pseudogapping. To name but one (see Johnson 1996, Schuyler 2002, and references cited there for further discussion): while pseudogapping cannot strand a preposition, wh-movement out of a VP-ellipsis site can. This is illustrated in (43) (from Johnson 1996:5).

(43) a. *Sally will stand near Mag, but he won't [*e*] Holly.
b. ?I know which WOMAN Fred will stand near, but I don't know which MAN he will [*e*].

Sentence (a) shows that the remnant in a pseudogapping construction (in this case *Holly*) is not able to strand a preposition (*near*). As illustrated in (43)b, however, wh-movement out of a VP-ellipsis site *can* be combined with preposition stranding. Thus, these data provide a clear indication that (43)b is not merely the wh-counterpart of examples such as (43)a.

A fourth argument against proform-theories of VP-ellipsis concerns ACD-constructions. Consider a basic example in (44).

(44) Ed reads every book that Julia does [*e*].

In this sentence, the elided VP (indicated as [*e*]) is contained inside its own antecedent (i.e. the VP *reads every book that Julia does*). For analyses that identify [*e*] as a VP-proform, such a configuration represents a serious problem. In order to see why, consider the contrast in (45).

(45) a. Ed [reads every book that Julia does pro_i]$_i$.
b. * I saw [a portrait of it_i]$_i$.

The sentence in (45)b is an illustration of the so-called *i*-within-*i*-filter (Chomsky 1981), which essentially states that proper subparts of a phrase cannot be coindexed with that phrase. However, under a pro_{VP}-analysis of VP-ellipsis, examples such as the one in (44) are in violation of this filter as well (see the indexing in (45)a). In other words, proform-theories of VP-ellipsis predict (45)a to be as ungrammatical as (45)b, contrary to fact. Hardt (1993:17–19, 124–125) suggests that ACD-examples should be given a pseudogapping analysis, but the two objections raised earlier against this line of

argumentation hold here as well. First, if pseudogapping is analyzed as VP-ellipsis, then the argument loses its force, and second, ACD-constructions can strand a preposition, just like wh-movement but unlike pseudogapping. Compare (46) (Johnson 1996:5) with (43)a.

(46) Sally will stand near every woman that you will [*e*].

Summing up, there are four strong arguments in favor of the hypothesis that the gap in a VP-ellipsis construction contains a full-fledged syntactic structure that has undergone phonological deletion.[21] Arguments have been raised for the opposite position as well. Advocates of *pro*-theories have pointed to properties of VP-ellipsis that they argue PF-deletion theories cannot handle. However, it turns out that the argumentation they put forward targets only a very specific implementation of the PF-deletion analysis, namely, one that assumes that the antecedent VP and the elided VP have to be structurally completely parallel. Virtually all the arguments they discuss deal with discrepancies between the elided VP and its antecedent. Let me illustrate this with (47) (from Hardt 1993:34).

(47) David Begelman is a great [laugher] and when he does [*e*], his eyes crinkle at you the way Lady Brett's did in the *The Sun Also Rises*.

In (47), the elided VP (marked [*e*]) takes the NP *laugher* as its antecedent. Such a sentence is problematic for a theory that assumes that VPs can only be PF-deleted under complete structural parallelism with an antecedent VP. In this example, there is no such antecedent VP, and as a result, VP-ellipsis should be disallowed.[22] Under a proform-analysis on the other hand, the relation between the gap and its antecedent is purely semantic. Hence, it comes as no surprise that an NP can qualify as antecedent as well. As I have shown in the first case study, however, adhering to a PF-deletion theory of ellipsis does not necessarily imply that the elided phrase has to be structurally identical to its antecedent. Merchant (2001:chap. 1), for example, argues at length in favor of a PF-deletion theory of ellipsis in which the relation between the elided XP and its antecedent is purely semantic (see also chapter 5, section 5.2.4 here). This means that data such as those in (47) do not provide counterevidence against *all* PF-deletion theories of VP-ellipsis. Moreover, the same line of reasoning applies to the other arguments usually raised in this respect: active/passive-mismatches, nonovert antecedents, split antecedents, various pronominal mismatches usually grouped together under the rubric "vehicle change" (Fiengo and May 1994), and so on. (See Coppock 2001, Kehler 2002, Merchant 2001, 2004 for relevant discussion.) In light of the four arguments discussed earlier, then, it seems justified to say that at the current state of the field, the PF-deletion theory of VP-ellipsis that does not assume structural identity between the antecedent VP and the elided VP is to be preferred over the proform-theory.[23]

At this point I can return to dialect Dutch SDRs. In table 11.2, I have repeated those aspects of the comparison between SDRs and VP-ellipsis that featured in the preceding discussion.[24]

TABLE 11.2. Arguments against a PF-deletion analysis of SDRs

	SDRs	*VP-ellipsis*
There-expletive as subject	*	✓
Agreement with elided associate DP	*	✓
Co-occurrence with wh-movement	*	✓
Pseudogapping	*	✓

As I have shown, the characteristics in the leftmost column of table 11.2 play a crucial role in determining the correct analysis of English VP-ellipsis. The fact that this construction displays these characteristics can be seen as strong arguments against a *pro*$_{VP}$-analysis and in favor of a PF-deletion account. The reverse reasoning now applies to dialect Dutch SDRs. Note that they pattern systematically differently from VP-ellipsis with respect to these properties. This, I want to argue, is a strong indication that unlike its apparent English counterpart, this construction *should* be given a proform-analysis. Consider first the fact that *there*-expletives are disallowed in the subject position of SDRs. This follows straightforwardly if there is no suitable indefinite associate DP present in the structure, which in turn falls out if the ellipsis site in SDRs consists only of a null proform. Moreover, that would also explain why the SDR-verb never agrees with an elided associate DP (i.e. the second characteristic in table 11.2). If SDRs contain a null proform, such a DP is not syntactically present in the derivation and as a result cannot affect the agreement marking on the SDR-verb. The third and fourth characteristics also follow this pattern. Given that a null proform contains no internal structure, it cannot host the trace of a movement operation. Hence, SDRs cannot be combined with wh-movement or with whatever movement operation is responsible for pseudogapping (see the references I have mentioned for various proposals). Moreover, this line of reasoning can be extended to a movement operation that is specific to the dialects discussed here. Consider first the contrast in (48).

(48) a.	Marie	eit<-n>	zaai	<*-n>	wuirschaainlek	nie	gezien.	
	Mary	has-him$_{CLITIC}$	she	him$_{CLITIC}$	probably	not	seen	
	'Mary probably didn't see him.'							
b.	Marie	eit<*-em>	zaai	<-em>	wuirschaainlek	nie	gezien.	
	Mary	has-him$_{WEAK}$	she	him$_{WEAK}$	probably	not	seen	
	'Mary probably didn't see him.'							[Wambeek Dutch]

These examples show that the dialects I am considering have a class of object clitic pronouns that differ in distribution from their deficient nonclitic counterparts. While the latter cannot occur to the left of the doubling strong subject pronoun *zaai* 'she', the former obligatorily move to that position. More generally, object clitics in the dialects under consideration here obligatorily move to a position to the immediate right of the finite verb (in main clauses) or of the complementizer (in embedded clauses) (see Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen 2000, 2002b, 2008b, Van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman 2007 for extensive discussion). As such, these data

also make a prediction with respect to SDRs. If the ellipsis site in this construction contains a full-fledged but PF-deleted syntactic structure, then object clitics should be able to move out of it and attach to the SDR-verb. But if this construction contains a null, structureless proform, no object clitic can be present in the structure to begin with, and SDRs should not be able to combine with object clitic movement. As (49) illustrates, the second of these two hypotheses makes the correct prediction.

(49) A: Marie eit-n gezien.
Mary has.him$_{\text{OBJ.CLITIC}}$ seen

B: a. Z'en duut.
she.NEG does

b. * Z'en duut-n.
she.NEG does-him$_{\text{OBJ.CLITIC}}$

'A: Mary saw him. B: No, she didn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The example in (49)Bb shows that SDRs cannot co-occur with object clitics, not even if the antecedent clause contains one. This follows naturally if one assumes that the ellipsis site in this construction contains a null, structureless proform.

Summing up, there is ample empirical evidence suggesting that the ellipsis site in SDRs does not contain a fully merged but PF-deleted syntactic structure but rather a null, structureless proform. In other words, the data point to the conclusion that an SDR such as B's reply in (50) should be schematically represented as in (51).

(50) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly

B: Z'en duut.
she.NEG does

'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(51) Z'en duut *pro*.
she.NEG does
'She doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

This concludes my comparison of dialect Dutch SDRs and English VP-ellipsis. In the next section, I show how the schematic structure in (51) leads to a new hypothesis concerning the analysis of SDRs.

11.3 SDRs = 'Do'-paraphrases with a VP-Proform?

In the preceding sections, I have eliminated one likely suspect for the analysis of dialect Dutch SDRs, and in so doing I introduced a first ingredient of what I believe to be the correct analysis of this construction. Specifically, the gap in an SDR is not a PF-deleted syntactic structure but rather an unstructured null proform. In this

section, I show how this finding introduces a new likely suspect for the analysis of SDRs. I will dismiss this analysis, too, on empirical grounds, but it will provide some new clues as to what *is* the correct analysis. Consider (52).

(52) A: Pierre spelj met de kinjern.
Peter plays with the children

B: Da duut n nie.
that does he not

'A: Peter plays with the children. B: No, he doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, B contradicts A's statement with a paraphrase that contains a pronominal subject, a conjugated form of the verb *duun* 'do', and the VP-proform *da* 'that'. Given that I have just argued that SDRs are also built up out of these three elements, it is tempting to try and unify these two phenomena. Specifically, the hypothesis I will explore in the following sections is that SDRs are essentially the same construction as the one exemplified in (52)B, the only difference being that in the former the proform is nonovert.

As I have already suggested, this hypothesis is falsified by the data. In the following sections, I discuss nine empirical tests with respect to which SDRs pattern differently from the type of paraphrases exemplified in (52)B. About seven of them I can be very brief, as they already featured when I compared SDRs to VP-ellipsis. I begin with the two new ones.

11.3.1 Negation and Affirmation Marking

A first noticeable difference between SDRs and the construction I have introduced concerns the way negation and (emphatic) affirmation are expressed. While paraphrases with *duun* 'do' follow the normal pattern, negation and affirmation marking in SDRs is exceptional. Consider the contrast in (53).

(53) A: Pierre spelj met de kinjern.
Peter plays with the children

B: a. Da (en) duut n *(nie).
that NEG does he not

b. Ij *(en) duut (*nie).
he NEG does not

'A: Peter plays with the children. B: No, he doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The negation marking in (53)Ba represents the default situation in the dialect of Wambeek. The preverbal negative clitic *en* is optionally present (and usually left out), while the postverbal negator *nie* 'not' is obligatory. As (53)Bb illustrates, SDRs diverge markedly from this pattern. Not only is the negative clitic obligatory in this construction; the postverbal negator is also disallowed. However, the latter of these two requirements does not hold for all SDR-dialects. The more Western ones, especially, optionally allow the postverbal negator to show up. Out

of the dialects I am focusing on in this chapter, only that of Izenberge employs this second pattern. In reply to A's statement in (53), speakers of this dialect can reply as in (54).

(54) E *(n) doe (nie)
he NEG does not
'He doesn't.' [Izenberge Dutch]

Given that the dialect of Izenberge shares with the other dialects the default pattern in (53)Ba, however, one can safely conclude that regardless of this cross-dialectal variation, negation marking in SDRs differs considerably from that in paraphrases with *duun* 'do'. As such, these data constitute a first problem for a unified account of these two constructions.

A similar line of reasoning holds for emphatic affirmation marking. Consider the examples in (55).

(55) A: Pierre spelj nie met de kinjern.
Peter plays not with the children
B: Da { duut / * DUUT} n *(WEL).
that does / does he AFF
Ij { * duut / DUUT} (*WEL).
he does / does AFF
'A: Peter doesn't play with the children. B: Yes, he does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Again, the reply in (55)Ba represents the default situation in the dialects I am considering. When a clause is emphatically affirmative (e.g. in order to contradict a preceding negative statement), the affirmative adverb *wel* is obligatorily present. Moreover, the main stress in the sentence falls on this adverb, rather than on the verb. Short Do Replies display the opposite pattern. Not only is the adverb *wel* obligatorily absent; the verb *duun* 'do' necessarily receives main stress. Moreover, all the dialects looked at here behave uniformly in this respect, even the dialect of Izenberge: adding *wel* to an affirmative SDR yields an ungrammatical result.[25]

Summing up, the way negation and affirmation are marked constitutes a first indication that SDRs should be kept distinct from the type of paraphrases exemplified in (52).

11.3.2 Activities versus States

The data in (56)–(57) illustrate a second difference between the two constructions I am considering.

(56) A: Pierre spelj met de kinjern.
Peter plays with the children

B: a. Da duut n nie.
that does he not
b. Ij en duut.
he NEG does
'A: Peter plays with the children. B: No, he doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(57) A: Pierre wetj naaig veel.
Peter knows very much
B: a. * Da duut n nie.
that does he not
b. Ij en duut.
he NEG does
'A: Peter knows a lot. B: No, he doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The pair in (56) shows that when the antecedent clause contains an activity verb like *spelen* 'play', both SDRs and paraphrases with *duun* 'do' are allowed. However, when the antecedent verb is stative, as in (57), only SDRs are grammatical. Paraphrases with *duun* 'do' are disallowed in such a case. This is a second indication that SDRs are not to be analyzed as *duun*-paraphrases in disguise.

This concludes my overview of the first two differences between SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases. As mentioned, the following seven all involve properties that were already discussed in the comparison between SDRs and VP-ellipsis (section 11.2). Thus, I can be fairly brief about them and will only introduce the data from *duun*-paraphrases. For the contrasting SDR-data, consult the preceding sections.

11.3.3 Distribution

Just like VP-ellipsis and unlike SDRs, *duun*-paraphrases are not restricted to short contradictory replies to declarative clauses. The examples in (58) illustrate that this construction can also occur in coordinations, (58)a, comparatives, (58)b, embedded clauses, (58)c, replies to yes/no-questions, (58)d and replies to subject-wh-questions, (58)e.[26] As such, these data constitute a third argument against unifying SDRs with *duun*-paraphrases.

(58) a. Marie spelj veel met de kinjern, en Jef duut dad oek.
Mary plays a.lot with the children and Jeff does that too
'Mary plays a lot with the children and Jeff does too.'
b. ? Marie spelj miejr met de kinjern dan da Jef da duut.
Mary plays more with the children than thatc◦ Jeff that does
'Mary plays more with the children than Jeff does.'
c. A: Marie spelj veel met de kinjern.
Mary plays a.lot with the children

B: Ik paus da ze da nie duut.
I think that$_{\mathrm{C}^{\circ}}$ she that not does
'A: Mary plays a lot with the children. B: I think she doesn't.'

d. A: Spelj Marie veel met de kinjern?
plays Mary a.lot with the children
B: Nieje, da duu ze nie.
no that does she not
'A: Does Mary play with the children a lot? B: No, she doesn't.'

e. A: Wou speltj er alted met de kinjern?
who plays there always with the children
B: Da duu Marie.
that does Mary
'A: Who always plays with the children? B: Mary does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

11.3.4 *There*-Expletives

Antecedent clauses that contain a *there*-expletive form a fourth empirical domain in which SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases pattern differently. Recall from section 11.2.2 that SDRs to such clauses necessarily consist of the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it' and the matching form of the verb *duun* 'do'. The data in (59) illustrate that even this option is not open to *duun*-paraphrases.

(59) A: Dui werken drou mann inn of.
there work$_{\mathrm{PL}}$ three men in.the garden
B: a. *Da doenj er niet.
that do$_{\mathrm{PL}}$ there not
b. *Da duut er nie.
that does there not
c. *Da doenj 't nie.
that do$_{\mathrm{PL}}$ it not
d. *Da duun-t nie.
that does.it not

INTENDED READING: 'A: There are three men working in the garden. B: No, there aren't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

This means that SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases differ not in the choice of the subject pronoun or the agreement on the verb (as was the case with VP-ellipsis) but rather in the simple fact that while SDRs *can* be used in reply to sentences containing a *there*-expletive, *duun*-paraphrases cannot.

11.3.5 Modals and Auxiliaries

Unlike the verb used in SDRs, the one in *duun*-paraphrases cannot be used to replace modals or auxiliaries that occur in the antecedent clause. On the contrary, the verb *duun* 'do' in these types of paraphrases can appear in addition to those modals and auxiliaries. It then shows up in its participial or infinitival form. Consider (60)–(62).

(60) A: Marie eit den ont eten gegeven.
Mary has the dog food given

B: a. * Da duu ze nie.
that does she not

b. Dad ei ze nie geduin.
that has she not done

'A: Mary has fed the dog. B: No, she hasn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(61) A: Marie muut den ont eten geven.
Mary must the dog food give

B: a. * Da duu ze nie.
that does she not

b. Da muu ze nie duun.
that must she not doINF

'A: Mary has to feed the dog. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(62) A: Marie guit den ont eten geven.
Mary goes the dog food give

B: a. * Da duu ze nie.
that does she not

Da gui ze nie duun.
that goes she not do INF

'A: Mary is going to feed the dog. B: No, she isn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Given that the form of the verb *duun* 'do' used in SDRs is always finite, and given that this verb can be used to replace modals and auxiliaries, the data in (60)–(62) represent a fifth difference between SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases.

11.3.6 Past Tenses

The sixth difference between the two concerns the fact that *duun*-paraphrases allow past tenses, while SDRs don't.

(63) A: Marie speljn alted met de kinjern.
Mary played always with the children

B: a. * Da duu ze nie.
that does she not

b. Da dee ze nie.
that did she not

‘A: Mary always used to play with the children. B: No, she didn’t.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

11.3.7 Co-occurrence with ‘Yes’ and ‘No’

Unlike SDRs, *duun*-paraphrases are perfectly compatible with *jou* ‘yes’ and *nieje* ‘no’. This is shown in (64) and (65).[27]

(64) A: Marie spelj met de kinjern.
Mary plays with the children

B: Nieje, da duu ze nie.
no that does she not

‘A: Mary plays with the children. B: No, she doesn’t.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

(65) A: Marie spelj nie met de kinjern.
Mary plays not with the children

B: Jou, da duu ze wel.
yes that does she AFF

‘A: Mary doesn’t play with the children. B: Yes, she does.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

11.3.8 Co-occurrence with Adverbs

While SDRs can only co-occur with very high adverbs such as *pertang* ‘however’ (at least for some speakers; see section 11.2.6), *duun*-paraphrases can be freely combined with both high and low adverbs. Consider a representative sample in (66)–(69).

(66) A: Marie zou muute beginne zwemmen.
Mary should must start swim

B: Da duu ze al.
that does she already

‘A: Mary should start swimming. B: She already does.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

(67) A: Pierre spelj voetbal.
Peter plays soccer

B: Nieje, da duut-n nie mieje.
no that does.he not anymore

‘A: Peter plays soccer. B: No, he doesn’t anymore.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

(68) A: Ik eup da Marie gin sein gui muiken.
I hope that Mary no scene goes make

B: Da zal ze wuirschaainlek nie duun.
that will she probably not do

‘A: I hope Mary doesn’t make a scene. B: She probably won’t.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

(69) A: Jef zou da gou voetbal speltj.
Jeff said that$_{C°}$ you soccer play

B: Da duun ek pertang nie.
that do I however not

'A: Jeff said you play soccer. B: I don't, however.' [Wambeek Dutch]

11.3.9 Subject Restrictions

In section 11.2.7, I showed how the subject in an SDR can only be a weak pronoun that is coreferential with the subject of the antecedent clause. As (70) and (71) show, the subject in *duun*-paraphrases is not so restricted.

(70) A: Pierre spelj voetbal.
Peter plays soccer

B: Mo Jef duut da nie.
but Jeff does that not

'A: Peter plays soccer. B: But Jeff doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(71) A: Iederiejn geef geldj uin dermen.
everybody gives money to the.poor

B: Pierre duut da nie
Peter does that not

'A: Everybody gives money to the poor. B: Peter doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

11.3.10 Conclusion

The primary conclusion of this discussion is clear. In the preceding nine sections, I have discussed a wide range of data, all of which are problematic for the hypothesis that SDRs are *duun*-paraphrases with a silent proform. It is safe to conclude, then, that this hypothesis should be abandoned. Table 11.3 summarizes the data that have led to this conclusion.

Once again, however, the contrastive data also offer some insight into what an analysis of SDRs *should* look like. In particular, I want to argue that the comparison with *duun*-paraphrases summarized in table 11.3 allows for two new conclusions. The first one concerns the nature of the verb *duun* 'do' in the two constructions. Looking at table 11.3, it seems uncontroversial to say that the verb that appears in *duun*-paraphrases is an instance of the main verb *duun* 'do.' This is suggested by the fact that it can be preceded by modals and auxiliaries, can show up as a participle or an infinitival and cannot take stative verbs as its antecedent (main verb *do* being an activity verb itself). If this reasoning is on the right track, then it has repercussions for the status of the verb *duun* 'do' in SDRs. Given that this construction patterns systematically differently with respect to the properties just named, one is led to

TABLE 11.3. Comparison of SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases

	SDRs	Duun-*paraphrases*
Negation and affirmation marking	Exceptional	Default
Stative verb as antecedent	✓	*
Distribution	Only in nonembedded contradictory replies	Coordinations, comparatives, replies to declarative clauses, yes/no-questions, and subject-wh-questions, embedded and main
Antecedent clause can contain a *there*-expletive	✓	*
Modals and auxiliaries	*	✓
Duun 'do' can occur as participle/infinitive	*	✓
Past tenses	*	✓
Can co-occur with 'yes' and 'no'	*	✓
Co-occurrence with adverbs	Only very high adverbs	✓
Subject restrictions	Only weak personal pronouns	No restrictions

conclude that the verb in an SDR is not the main verb *duun* 'do'. That is, the *duun* 'do' that occurs in SDRs is not merged in the head of VP but rather in a higher, functional head position.

The second conclusion concerns the proform I have postulated in SDRs. I want to suggest that several of the properties listed in table 11.3 follow straightforwardly if one assumes that the SDR-proform replaces or pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than the VP-proform *da* 'that' does in *duun*-paraphrases. The reasoning goes as follows. Given that *da* 'that' co-occurs with modals and auxiliaries, with past tenses, with all kinds of adverbs, and with all kinds of subjects, it seems reasonable to assume that this proform only pronominalizes the VP, that is, the lexical verb and its internal arguments. The rest of the structure is unaffected. If this argumentation is on the right track, then the proform that occurs in SDRs replaces a much larger portion of the extended verbal projection. In particular, it includes the projection(s) where modals and auxiliaries are merged, the projection where past tense is assigned, all but the highest adverb projections, and (assuming that pronominal subjects move to a higher position than nonpronominal ones, see section 13.3 for discussion) all but the highest subject position. I will take this intuition as a cornerstone for my analysis of SDRs in chapters 12 and 13.

11.4 Conclusion

In the preceding sections, I have eliminated two possible analyses of SDRs. The first one tried to relate this construction to English VP-ellipsis. The main conclusion that has come out of this comparison is that while VP-ellipsis involves the PF-deletion of a full-fledged syntactic structure, the gap in an SDR contains a null proform. This has led to a second possible analysis, one that treats SDRs as the null counterpart of paraphrases with the verb *duun* 'do' and the VP-proform *da* 'that'. There were two main reasons not to adopt this approach. First, the verb *duun* 'do' turns out to be a main verb in *duun*-paraphrases but not in SDRs. Second, the SDR-proform pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than does the VP-proform *da* 'that'.

11.5 Data Summary: Setting the Research Agenda

Given that the analysis in chapter 13 focuses on SDRs only, and given that most of the SDR-data in the preceding sections were intertwined with data from other constructions, I will summarize the main properties of SDRs here. This summary will give an overview of the characteristics of SDRs that an analysis should be able to account for. In other words, this section sets the research agenda for the chapters that follow. I have listed the relevant properties in (72).

(72) Basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs

a. The subject
- The subject is a weak pronominal coreferential with the preceding subject
- If the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive, the SDR-subject is *'t* 'it'.
- The use of *'t* 'it' as an SDR-subject is gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns.
- Some dialects allow the weak subject pronoun to be doubled.

b. Negation
- Negation is obligatorily marked by the (normally optional) preverbal clitic *en*.
- This clitic can in some dialects be accompanied by the postverbal negator *nie* 'not'.

c. Emphatic affirmation
- Emphatic affirmation is marked by stress on the verb *duun* 'do'.
- The affirmative adverb *wel* is obligatorily absent.

d. The verb
- The verb is always the verb *duun* 'do'.
- *Duun* 'do' is not a main verb in SDRs (cannot be preceded by modals or auxiliaries, cannot show up in participial or infinitival form, can replace stative verbs).
- *Duun* 'do' only occurs in the present tense.
- *Duun* 'do' can be used to replace modals and auxiliaries.

e. The gap
   - The gap is not a PF-deleted syntactic structure (no *there*-expletives, no agreement with the elided associate DP, no wh-movement, no pseudogapping, and no object clitic movement) but rather a null proform.
   - This proform replaces a larger part of the structure than merely VP.

f. Distribution
   - SDRs only occur productively in short contradictory replies to declarative statements.

g. Co-occurrence restrictions
   - SDRs cannot be combined with 'yes' and 'no'.
   - SDRs cannot be combined with adverbs, except (at least for some speakers) very high ones such as *pertang* 'however' or *iejrlek gezeid* 'frankly'.

11.6 Appendix: The Interaction of SDRs with 'Yes'

As mentioned in section 11.2.5, in this appendix I focus on the status of the element *jou* 'yes' that accompanies SDRs in examples such as the ones in (73) and (74).

(73)

A:	Marie	zie	Pierre	nie	geirn.
	Mary	sees	Peter	not	gladly
B:	Jou	ze	duut.		
	yes	she	does		

'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(74)

A:	Marie	zie	Pierre	geirn.
	Mary	sees	Peter	gladly
B:	Jou	z'en	duut.	
	yes	she.NEG	does	

'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The fact that this element can be combined both with affirmative and negative SDRs suggests that it is not an instance of the "regular" polarity marker *jou* 'yes' used in replies to yes/no-questions. In the following paragraphs, I present further evidence supporting this conclusion. In particular, I review a set of data with respect to which the *jou* 'yes' found in SDRs patterns systematically differently from "regular" instances of this polarity marker. I present an analysis of this element in chapter 13, where I argue that it is the spell-out of a very specific functional head in the clausal left periphery. I take up the analysis of the "regular" polarity marker *jou* 'yes' in chapter 15.

First, when the "regular" polarity marker *jou* 'yes' is used in a contradictory reply to a negative declarative clause, its vowel is necessarily lengthened; that is, it is pronounced with a drag tone (see also note 27). This is illustrated in (75) (the '∼'-diacritic signals vowel lengthening).

(75) A: Marie gui nie nui de cinema.
Mary goes not to the cinema

B: Jou*(~), Marie gui wel nui de cinema.
yes Mary goes AFF to the cinema.

'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does go to the cinema.'

[Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, B contradicts A's declarative statement by means of a nonelliptical (i.e. non-SDR) full clausal reply. As indicated by the grammaticality judgments, the vowel of the polarity marker *jou* 'yes' is necessarily lengthened in this example. This predicts that if it is the same element that shows up in (73) and (74), vowel lengthening should be obligatory there as well. As the examples in (76) and (77) illustrate, this is not the case.

(76) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
Mary sees Peter not gladly

B: Jou(*~) ze duut.
yes she does

'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(77) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly

B: Jou(*~) z'en duut.
yes she.NEG does

'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

If anything, the vowel of the element *jou* 'yes' when it precedes SDRs is even shortened. The contrast between (75) and (76)/(77) thus constitutes a further indication that these two instances of *jou* 'yes' should not be equated.

Second, when used in contradictory replies to declarative clauses, *jou* 'yes' can be replaced by a combination of the particle *toch,* which is homophonous with an adverb roughly meaning 'however', and the polarity adverb *wel* 'AFF' (for extensive discussion see also chapter 12, section 12.3). Consider an illustration of this in (78).

(78) A: Marie gui nie nui de cinema.
Mary goes not to the cinema

B: Toch wel, Marie gui wel nui de cinema.
PRT AFF Mary goes AFF to the cinema.

'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does go to the cinema.'

[Wambeek Dutch]

Again, the prediction raised by this example for the data in (73)–(74) is clear. If the *jou* 'yes' that can accompany SDRs is the same element as the polarity marker found elsewhere in the grammar, then it, too, should be replaceable by *toch wel* 'PRT AFF'. As shown in (79)–(80), this prediction is not borne out.

(79) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
Mary sees Peter not gladly

B: * Toch wel ze duut.
PRT AFF she does

INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(80) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly

B: * Toch wel z'en duut.
PRT AFF she.NEG does

INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Unlike the polarity marker *jou* 'yes' used in examples such as (75), the one that accompanies SDRs cannot be replaced by a combination of *toch* 'PRT' and *wel* 'AFF'. This is a second indication that these two elements should be kept distinct.

Third, whereas "regular" occurrences of *jou* 'yes' are usually separated from the clause that follows them by an intonation break, such a break is unacceptable in a combination of *jou* 'yes' with SDRs. Consider (81) and (82) (the use of a comma indicates the presence of an intonation break).

(81) A: Kom Marie?
comes Mary

B: Jou(,) Marie komt.
yes Mary comes

'A: Is Mary coming? B: Yes, she is.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(82) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
Mary sees Peter not gladly

B: Jou(*,) ze duut.
yes she does

'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The fourth difference between the two occurrences of *jou* 'yes' concerns a construction that I will discuss in great detail in chapter 15. Consider (83).

(83) A: Kom ze mergen?
comes she tomorrow

B: a. Jui-s.
yes-she_{CLITIC}

b. Jui-s, ze kom mergen.
yes-she_{CLITIC} she comes tomorrow

'A: Is she coming tomorrow? B: Yes(, she is coming tomorrow).' [Wambeek Dutch]

In both of B's replies in this dialogue, the subject clitic *s* 'she' (which is coreferential with the subject of A's yes/no-question) is attached to the polarity element *jou* 'yes'.[28] Moreover, (83)Bb illustrates that this phenomenon is not restricted to elliptical replies (i.e. replies consisting of just the polarity marker) but is also allowed when the polarity marker is followed by a full clausal reply. This predicts that it should also be able to occur when *jou* 'yes' is combined with an SDR. It should come as no surprise by now that this prediction is not borne out by the data.

(84) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
Mary sees Peter not gladly
B: * Jui-s ze duut.
yes-sheCLITIC she does
INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Fifth and finally, the polarity marker *jou* 'yes' used in replies to yes/no-questions also differs from the element that combines with SDRs in the types of discourse particles it can co-occur with. Consider first some basic data in (85)–(87).

(85) A: Magge-k-ik oek mee?
may-ICLITIC-ISTRONG also with
B: A ba jou.
PRT PRT yes
'A: Can I also come? B: I guess so.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(86) A: Magge-k-ik oek mee?
may-ICLITIC-ISTRONG also with
B: Mo ba jou.
PRT PRT yes
'A: Can I also come? B: Of course.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(87) A: Magge-k-ik oek mee?
may-ICLITIC-ISTRONG also with
B: A mo ba jui-ch
PRT PRT PRT yes-youCLITIC
'A: Can I also come? B: Of course you can!' [Wambeek Dutch]

These examples illustrate that the polarity element *jou* 'yes' used in replies to yes/no-questions can co-occur with a variety of discourse particles. The most common among them are *a, ba,* and *mo.* When two or more of these particles co-occur, their order is always fixed (*a* < *mo* < *ba*), and each of them carries its own specific semantico-pragmatic flavor. However, as it is very difficult to pinpoint the precise meaning of each of these elements individually (for relevant discussion see Smessaert 1995), I have glossed all of them here as 'PRT' and have tried to capture only the general meaning of B's reply in the English translation. What is relevant for the discussion here is the prediction that if the polarity element accompanying SDRs is the same as the one in the

examples in (85)–(87), then it, too, should be able to co-occur with these discourse particles. As shown in (88), this is not the case.

(88) A: Ik muun oek mee.
I have.to also with

B: a. ?* A ba jou g'en doetj.
PRT PRT yes you.NEG do

b. ?* Mo ba jou g'en doetj.
PRT PRT yes you.NEG do

c. * A mo ba jou g'en doetj.
PRT PRT PRT yes you.NEG do

INTENDED READING: 'A: I have to come as well. B: No, you don't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, exactly the same particle combinations are used as the ones in (85)–(87), yet the result is ungrammatical. Moreover, the data in (89) illustrate that the deviance of (88)Ba–c is not due to the combination of the discourse particles with the SDR. When *jou* 'yes' is deleted in B's replies in (88), the result is perfectly acceptable.[29]

(89) A: Ik muun oek mee.
I have.to also with

B: a. A ba g'en doetj.
PRT PRT you.NEG do

b. Mo ba g'en doetj.
PRT PRT you.NEG do

c. A mo ba g'en doetj.
PRT PRT PRT you.NEG do

'A: I have to come as well. B: No, you don't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

What these examples show, then, is that the ungrammaticality of B's replies in (88) is solely due to the presence of *jou* 'yes'. This means that this element differs from the "regular" polarity marker used in (85)–(87) in that it is incompatible with (at least certain combinations of) the discourse particles *a, mo,* and *ba.* As such, these data constitute a fifth indication that the *jou* 'yes' that combines with SDRs should not be equated with the "regular" instances of this polarity marker.

Summing up, in this appendix I have shown that although an element homophonous with the affirmative polarity marker *jou* 'yes' can co-occur with SDRs, the two should be kept distinct. The *jou* 'yes' that occurs in SDRs differs from the "regular" polarity marker in a considerable number of respects: it can be used both with affirmative and with negative SDRs, its vowel cannot be lengthened, it cannot be replaced by *toch wel,* it does not allow for an intonation break with the SDR that follows it, it cannot be combined with subject clitics, and it is incompatible with discourse particle combinations that readily combine with the "regular" instances of *jou* 'yes'. All in all, then, the evidence against a unified account of these two elements is quite overwhelming. Accordingly, I will propose in chapter 13 that they occupy different structural positions in the clausal left periphery.

12

Theoretical Background

12.1 Overview

In this chapter, I present the theoretical background I will use in my analysis of SDRs in chapter 13. In so doing, I focus on three issues. In section 12.2, I first make explicit what kind of clause structure I will be assuming. A lot of attention will be devoted to the structural position occupied by polarity projections (i.e. PolPs) in the extended IP-domain. Section 12.3 focuses on the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis. Following Lipták (2003), I argue that contradicting a declarative clause involves the activation of a very specific functional head in the clausal left periphery. Third, in section 12.4, I examine how the SDR-proform can be properly licensed and identified. Section 12.5 sums up the main findings of this chapter.

12.2 Clause Structure

In section 11.3.10, I argued that the proform that occurs in SDRs pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than the VP-proform *da* 'that' does. In order to make this intuition more precise, I have to be more explicit about the hierarchy of IP-internal projections I am assuming. Moreover, given the central importance of negation and emphatic affirmation in SDRs, the position of PolP in this structure will also be of crucial importance. The labeled bracketing in (1) is an abstract representation of the clause structure on which my analysis will be based.[1]

(1) $[_{CP}$ C° $[_{Agr_SP}$ Agr_S° $[_{PolP}$ Pol° $[_{TP}$ T° $[_{PolP}$ Pol° $[_{VP}$ V° . . .]]]]]]

A first thing to note about this structure is that it contains not one but two PolPs.[2] This means that I follow the line of research going back to Lasnik (1972) that argues that negative elements can be base-generated in more than one position in the clausal structure (see Barbiers 2002a, Butler 2003, Cormack and Smith 2002, Holmberg 2003, Haegeman 2002, Robbers 1992, Van Kemenade 2000, Zanuttini 1997). In characterizing these two PolPs, I follow Butler (2003), who argues that the lower PolP (NegP in his terminology) operates on the predicate, while the higher one negates the entire proposition.[3] The example in (2) (Butler 2003:983) helps to clarify this distinction.

(2) a. My hoover isn't working.
    b. ¬ [my hoover is working]
    c. my hoover is ¬ [working]

Under the propositional negation reading ((2)b), the example in (2)a negates the proposition *my hoover is working*. The low negation reading in (2)c, however, simply connects the subject *my hoover* with the negated predicate *not working*. In simple sentences like these, the different contribution of the two PolPs is not very prominent, as the representations in (2)b and (2)c have identical truth conditions. In the next section, I will show that when emphasis (i.e. focus) is added to negation and affirmation marking, the difference between the two PolPs becomes vital. Before doing so, I will take a closer look at each PolP individually, and try to determine which lexical elements can be merged in it.

Following Haegeman (2002), I assume that the low PolP is the position where the polarity elements *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' are merged. That this is on the right track is suggested by the fact that *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' occur to the right of scrambled objects. This is illustrated in (3).

(3) a. Lewie ei gisteren [daunen boek]$_i$ nie t_i gelezen.
    Louis has yesterday that book not read
    'Louis hasn't read that book yesterday.'
  b. Lewie eit gisteren [daunen boek]$_i$ wel t_i gelezen.
    Louis has yesterday that book AFF read
    'Louis HAS read that book yesterday.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In both these examples, the direct object *daunen boek* 'that book' has moved across the polarity marker to its left. Given that this type of scrambling is generally assumed to target a position below TP (e.g. Agr_OP), these data constitute an argument in favor of generating *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' in the lower PolP, that is, the one dominated by TP.[4] The next question to ask, then, is whether *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' form the head or the specifier of this projection. Given that these elements do not block V°-to-C° movement (see (4)a) and given that they cannot move along to C° together with the finite verb as one complex head (see (4)b), I assume that they form the specifier rather than the head of the lower PolP (again in accordance with Haegeman 2002).

(4) a.

Gisteren	zou	Jef	{nie/wel}	t_{zou}	dat-n	ging	kommen.
yesterday	said	Jeff	not/AFF		$that_{C°}$-he	went	come

'Yesterday Jeff didn't/DID say that he would come.'

b.

* Gisteren	zou	{nie/wel}	Jef	dat-n	ging	kommen.
yesterday	said	not/AFF	Jeff	$that_{C°}$-he	went	come

INTENDED: 'Yesterday Jeff didn't/DID say that he would come.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In (4)a, the finite verb *zou* 'said' has moved from its VP-internal base position to C°. In so doing, it crosses the PolP occupied by *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF'. Given that this movement does not lead to a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), this example can be seen as an argument in favor of the XP-status of *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF'.[5] The sentence in (4)b makes the same point, but from a slightly different angle. If *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' were indeed the head of the low PolP, then one might expect the finite verb to be able to adjoin to these elements on its way to C°. Given that neither *zou nie* 'said not' nor *zou wel* 'said AFF' can occur as a complex head in the C°-position of the clause, it is unlikely that *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' are an instantiation of Pol°. Summing up, it is plausible to assume that the polarity adverbs *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' are merged as the specifiers of the lower of the two PolPs in the structure in (1).[6]

Again following Haegeman (2002), I assume that the preverbal negative clitic *en* is merged in the higher PolP.[7] Moreover, it is generated as the head of this projection. A clear indication in favor of its head status is the fact that this element—unlike *nie* 'not'—can move together with the finite verb as a complex head to the C°-position. Compare (5) with (4)b.

(5)

Gisteren	en	zou	Jef	nie	dat-n	ging	kommen.
yesterday	NEG	said	Jeff	not	$that_{C°}$-he	went	come

'Yesterday Jeff didn't say that he would come.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In (5), the finite verb *zou* 'said' has adjoined to the negative clitic *en* on its way to C°. Given that *en zou* 'NEG said' acts like a complex head (note that the presence of *en* does not cause a violation of the V2-requirement), it seems reasonable to assume that *en* is a syntactic head itself.

Note also that the high PolP is situated in between Agr_SP and TP. This aspect of the analysis is not without its precedents either: Belletti (1990), Holmberg et al. (1993), López (1995), Haegeman (1995), and Zanuttini (1997) have all proposed identical or highly similar configurations. What is more, the specific hierarchy assumed here receives strong empirical support from the tense and agreement system in Finnish. Consider (6) (from Holmberg 2003).[8]

(6) a.

Minä	osta-isi-n	kahvia.
I	buy-CON-1SG	coffee

'I would buy coffee.'

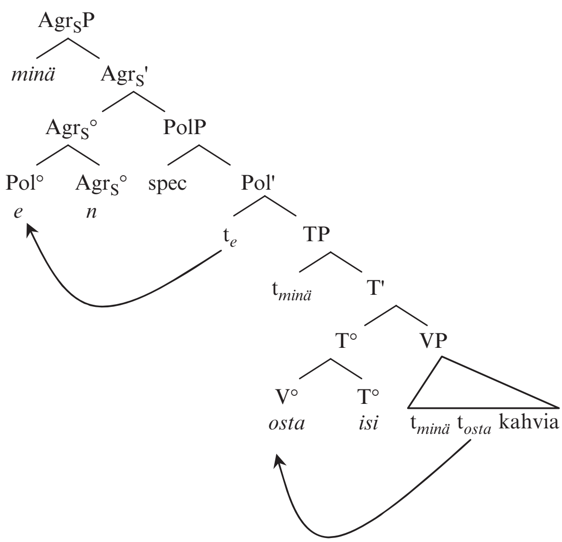
b.

Minä	e-n	osta-isi	kahvia.
I	NEG-1SG	buy-CON	coffee

'I wouldn't buy coffee.' [Finnish]

The example in (6)a illustrates that in affirmative sentences, the finite verb moves through T° (picking up the suffix *isi*) and onto Agr$_s$° (where it is combined with the agreement ending *n*). In negative sentences, however (see (6)b), the verb only moves to T°, and it is the negative element itself that moves to Agr$_s$° and consequently is marked with an agreement ending. It is clear that this state of affairs can be straightforwardly accounted for if one assumes that the hierarchical ordering of functional projections is $[_{\text{AGR}_{S}\text{P}}\ [_{\text{POLP}}\ [_{\text{TP}}\ ]]]$. The tree structure in (7) (adapted from Holmberg 2003) illustrates the derivation of the example in (6)b.

(7)



Summing up, in this first section I have outlined the clausal structure I will be assuming in my analysis of SDRs. I have shown that it is both well grounded in previous research and supported by empirical data. Key characteristics of the proposed hierarchy are the adoption of two PolPs, one dominating TP and one dominated by TP, and the assumption that while *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' are merged as the specifier of the low PolP, the preverbal negative clitic *en* is the head of the high PolP.[9] What I have remained silent about so far are the possible overt incarnations of the head position of the low PolP and the specifier position of the high PolP. With respect to the first, I can be brief. I assume that the head of the low PolP is never overtly realized and can only contain an abstract [+NEG]- or [+AFF]-morpheme. The possible lexical realizations of the specifier position of the high PolP are discussed in the next section.

12.3 The Syntax of Contradictory Sentential Emphasis

Recall that SDRs can only be used to contradict a preceding declarative statement, that is, they express contradictory sentential emphasis in Lipták's (2003) terminology. Contradictory sentential emphasis refers to the phenomenon whereby the

polarity of a clause is focused in order to contradict a preceding statement (see also Gussenhoven 1984:45–55, Höhle 1992). Lipták argues that in Hungarian, the expression of contradictory sentential emphasis requires a very specific syntax. In what follows, I introduce the main ingredients of her proposal and then show that Lipták's observations and analysis can be transferred to the dialects under consideration here. In the next chapter, I extend the account further to SDRs.

Consider the data in (8) and (9).

(8) A: Anna nem ment el moziba.
Anna not went PV cinema.to
B: Anna igenis elment moziba.
Anna yes.also PV.went cinema.to
'A: Anna didn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she did.' [Hungarian]

(9) A: Anna elment moziba.
Anna PV.went cinema.to
B: Anna igenis nem ment el moziba.
Anna yes.also not went PV cinema.to
'A: Anna went to the cinema. B: No, she didn't.' [Hungarian]

These dialogues represent typical instances of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian. In (8), a negative clause is contradicted, while in (9) an affirmative one is.[10] What is striking about B's reply in both cases is that it contains the word *igenis*. This lexical item consists of *igen* 'yes' and the emphatic particle *is* 'also', and it only occurs in constructions expressing contradictory sentential emphasis.[11] Lipták analyzes this element as occupying a head position in the extended left periphery, which she terms VFoc° (short for Verum Focus).[12] As such, she considers *igenis* to be the overt realization of the VERUM-operator that semantic accounts of contradictory sentential emphasis have postulated in these types of sentences (see for example Höhle 1992, Romero and Han 2002). Roughly, then, *igenis* means 'what now follows is a true proposition.' It is an operator that emphasizes the truth of the clause that follows. For example, in the case of (8), *igenis* emphasizes that the proposition 'Anna went to the cinema' is true, thus refuting A's previous statement that Anna didn't go to the cinema.[13]

These considerations represent only the first half of the analysis of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian. Consider the data in (10).

(10) a. * Anna igenis tegnap elment moziba.
Anna yes.also yesterday PV.went cinema.to
INTENDED READING: 'Anna DID go to the cinema yesterday.'
b. * Anna igenis tegnap nem ment el moziba
Anna yes.also yesterday not went PV cinema.to
INTENDED READING: 'Anna did NOT go to the cinema yesterday.' [Hungarian]

These examples show that *igenis* cannot be separated from the elements that follow it (i.e. the preverb+verb-complex in affirmative clauses and the negation in negative

clauses) by the adverb *tegnap* 'yesterday'. Lipták takes this as evidence that these elements are themselves in the left periphery, more specifically in FocP. In (8)B, the preverb *el* is in specFocP, and in (9)B, the negative element *nem* 'not' is. In both cases the finite verb *ment* 'went' moves along to Foc°.[14] This means that a sentence such as B's reply in (8) is given the (partial) structural representation in (11).

(11) [$_{\text{VFocP}}$ spec *igenis* [$_{\text{FocP}}$ *el* [$_{\text{Foc'}}$ *ment* [$_{\text{TP}}$ *moziba*]]]]

Summing up, the expression of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian consists of two components. First is the element *igenis,* which is the spell-out of the VERUM-operator, emphasizing the truth of the proposition that follows. Second, in the clause that follows *igenis,* the polarity is focused. In negative clauses this results in movement of *nem* 'not' to specFocP, and in affirmative clauses in movement of the preverb (given that Hungarian has no special marker for positive polarity; see Lipták 2003:16n12) to that position.

With all of this as background, I now turn to some Wambeek Dutch data (see also the appendix to chapter 11).[15]

(12) A: Marie gui nie nui de cinema.
Mary goes not to the cinema

B: Toch wel, Marie gui wel nui de cinema.
PRT AFF Mary goes AFF to the cinema.

'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(13) A: Marie gui nui de cinema.
Mary goes to the cinema

B: Toch nie, Marie gui nie nui de cinema.
PRT not Mary goes not to the cinema.

'A: Mary goes to the cinema. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

From the point of view of the preceding discussion, two aspects of B's replies in these dialogues immediately come to the fore. First of all, there is the particle *toch,* which is homophonous with an adverb roughly meaning 'however' and is present both in the positive and in the negative reply.[16] Second, this particle is immediately followed by the element *wel* 'AFF' in the affirmative answer and by the element *nie* 'not' in the negative one. Moreover, these elements occur twice in one and the same reply: once in clause-initial position immediately to the right of *toch* and once in a lower, clause-internal position. This second position can be further pinpointed on the basis of examples such as the one in (14).

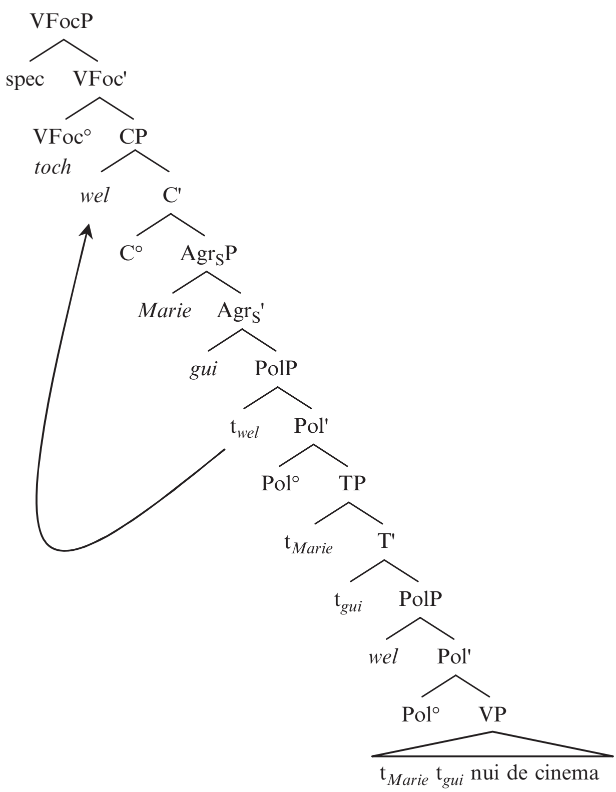
(14) A: Marie eit gisteren daunen boek nie gelezen.
Mary has yesterday that book not read

B: Toch wel, Marie eit gisteren daunen boek wel gelezen.
PRT AFF Mary has yesterday that book AFF read

'A: Mary hasn't read that book yesterday. B: Yes, she has.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, the second occurrence of the affirmative adverb *wel* 'AFF' occurs to the right of the scrambled object *daunen boek* 'that book'. In light of the discussion in the previous section, then, it seems plausible to identify this second position as the low PolP. More generally, given Lipták's (2003) account of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian as summarized earlier, it is tempting to see *toch* as the Wambeek Dutch counterpart of *igenis,* and to treat the clause-initial occurrence of *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' as the result of (focus) movement from the specifier of the high PolP to specCP.[17] The tree structure in (15) illustrates this account for the example in (12)B.

(15)



This means that just as in Hungarian, the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis in the dialects under consideration here consists of two components. First is the particle *toch,* which lexicalizes the VERUM-operator and is situated in the left-peripheral head VFoc°. Second, the polarity of the clause is focused. This is achieved through overt realization of the specifier of the high PolP (as *wel* 'AFF' or *nie* 'not') and concomitant movement of this element to the specifier of the CP-projection immediately dominated by VFocP.[18]

Several aspects of this analysis require further discussion. Its most controversial characteristics are without doubt the assumption that the elements *toch* and *wel* occupy a position in the left periphery of the clause, and the claim that *wel* ends up in

that position as a result of movement. In particular, a more plausible hypothesis, at first sight, might be that such discourse particles should not be integrated into the clausal structure at all, and that B's reply in an example such as (12) (repeated in (16)) does not consist of a single syntactic tree. Such an approach could be corroborated by the fact that there is an intonation break between *wel* and *Marie* in this example.

(16) A: Marie gui nie nui de cinema.
Mary goes not to the cinema

B: Toch wel, Marie gui wel nui de cinema.
PRT AFF Mary goes AFF to the cinema.

'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Given that the syntax of discourse particles is an underappreciated topic in generative grammar, this issue is too broad to get deeply involved in here. Moreover, although my analysis of SDRs in chapter 13 will make use of the assumptions outlined in this section, it will not be crucially dependent on my account of sentences such as the one in (16)B. That said, I do want to discuss some facts here that render more plausible the assumption that discourse particles such as *toch, wel, nie,* and by extension *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' occupy a position in the left periphery of the clause.

The first set of data I will present in this respect concerns the construction commonly referred to as contrastive left-dislocation. Consider (17).

(17) A: Daunen boek ei Marie nie gelezen.
that book has Mary not read

B: Daunen boek, toch wel, daunen ei Marie wel gelezen.
that book PRT AFF DEM has Mary AFF read.

'A: Mary didn't read that book. B: Yes, she did.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In B's reply in this dialogue, a left-peripheral phrase (in this case the DP *daunen boek* 'that book') is resumed by a clause-internal demonstrative pronoun (here *daunen*) that has moved to the preverb V2-position of the clause. What is relevant from the present perspective is that in this particular example, the elements *toch* and *wel* occur in between the left-dislocated DP and the clause it is associated with.[19] Given that the DP *daunen boek* is commonly assumed to occupy a position in the left periphery of this clause, the word order of B's reply makes it plausible to assume that *toch wel* is part and parcel of this syntactic structure as well.[20]

My second point is specific to the polarity elements *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no'. It concerns the construction I will discuss at length in chapter 15. Consider an example from the dialect of Waregem in (18).

(18) A: Èè-n ze gewonnen?
have-PL they won

B: Ja-n-s.
yes-PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
'A: Have they won? B: Yes.' [Waregem Dutch]

This dialogue shows that in the dialects I am considering, polarity elements such as *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' can be combined with subject clitics and agreement suffixes. Given that clitic placement and agreement marking are typically clause-related processes, the natural conclusion seems to be that polarity markers such as 'yes' and 'no' occupy a position in the extended verbal projection of the clause (see chapter 15 for in-depth discussion of the construction in (18)B).

All in all, then, it seems fair to conclude that there are empirical reasons to assume that discourse particles such as *toch, jawel* 'yes.AFF', *ja* 'yes', and *nee* 'no' occupy a structural position in the left-peripheral functional field of the clause.[21]

The second controversial aspect of the analysis presented in (15) concerns the assumption that the clause-initial occurrence of *wel* is the result of specPolP-to-specCP-movement. Strong positive evidence in favor of this movement operation is hard to come by, but it seems to me that this is the minimal assumption to make in light of the discussion in this and section 12.2. The alternative would be to assume that this instance of *wel* is base-generated in the left periphery. However, that would require postulating a third polarity-related projection in the functional field of Wambeek Dutch, and moreover would weaken the parallelism with Hungarian. Therefore, I assume that this occurrence of *wel* is the result of specPolP-to-specCP-movement. One question that remains from such a perspective, though, is why sentences like the ones in (19) are excluded.

(19) a. * Marie ei nie daunen boek nie gelezen.
Mary has not that book not read
b. * Marie ei wel daunen boek wel gelezen.
Mary has AFF that book AFF read [Wambeek Dutch]

In these examples, the specifiers of both PolPs are filled simultaneously (without either of them undergoing further movement) and the result is ungrammatical. What this seems to suggest, then, is that when the specifier of the high PolP is filled, it moves obligatorily to specCP. Note that it would not suffice to say that the specifier of the high PolP is only overtly realized when the polarity of the clause is focused and that such focus marking is obligatorily accompanied by specPolP-to-specCP-movement. In particular, in chapter 5 I have argued at length that focus movement into the CP-domain is normally covert in (dialectal) Dutch. The fact that the movement is overt, I want to suggest, is due to the fact that the two PolPs express only a single semantic negation (or affirmation); that is, they are instances of negative concord. This reading arises when both PolPs are bound by a single negative operator (see Zeijlstra 2004:chap. 8 for a comparable view), which I assume has to be located in the CP-domain. Moving the specifier of the high PolP to specCP achieves precisely the desired result: it allows the two PolPs to be bound by a single polarity operator. This view is further

corroborated by the fact that (19)a is grammatical under a constituent negation reading of the second *nie* 'not', that is, a reading whereby the sentence expresses two semantic negations.

Another aspect of the analysis that I will explore a bit further concerns the intuition that it is the high rather than the low PolP that is involved in the expression of contradictory sentential emphasis. This follows naturally from the characterization I gave of both PolPs in the previous section. Recall that I follow Butler (2003) in the assumption that while the low PolP operates on the predicate, the high one operates on the proposition. Given that contradictory sentential emphasis clearly has scope over the entire proposition, it seems natural to assume that it is focus marking on the high PolP that is used to express such emphasis. On the other hand, there is also some data in support of this assumption. Before I can go into them, however, I have to make explicit a particular aspect of the meaning of *wel* 'AFF'. Consider the dialogue in (20).

(20) A: Wat is ter gebeed?
what is there happened
B: Marie ei (* wel) nen boek gekocht.
Mary has AFF a book bought
'A: What happened? B: Mary bought a book.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, A's question sets up what one could describe as an out-of-the-blue context. In particular, no specific presuppositions are entertained; no previous statements have been made. What B's reply is meant to illustrate, then, is that *wel* 'AFF' is not a neutral affirmative adverb. Instead, it only occurs in *emphatic* affirmative sentences, that is, to contradict a preceding negative statement. That explains why it is excluded in the out-of-the-blue context set up in (20)A.[22] With this in mind, consider the data in (21)–(22).

(21) A: Marie gui nie nui de cinema.
Mary goes not to the cinema
B: (Mo) Lewie gui wel nui de cinema.
but Louis goes AFF to the cinema.
'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: (But) Louis does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(22) A: Marie gui nie nui de cinema.
Mary goes not to the cinema
B: * Jawel Lewie gui wel nui de cinema.
yes.AFF Louis goes AFF to the cinema.
INTENDED: 'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: (But) Louis does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In B's reply in (21), *wel* 'AFF' appears in the specifier position of the low PolP. Given that this element only occurs in emphatic sentences, this means that the low PolP is focused in this sentence. What (21) shows, then, is that focus on the low PolP is not sufficient to induce a reading of contradictory sentential emphasis. In (21), B's reply

is not a contradiction of the proposition 'Mary doesn't go to the cinema.' Rather, it focuses the polarity of the predicate 'to go to the cinema' and then combines this predicate with a different subject, that is, *Lewie* 'Louis'. The dialogue in (22) on the other hand illustrates that when the high PolP is focused (as is witnessed by the presence of *jawel* 'yes.AFF'), the contradictory sentential emphasis reading is obligatory. In this example, the subject of B's reply cannot be noncoreferential with that of A's original statement, since the presence of *jawel* 'yes.AFF' forces the clause to be interpreted as a direct contradiction of the proposition 'Mary doesn't go to the cinema.' As such, these data support my earlier assumption that it is crucially (focus marking on) the high PolP that is involved in the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis.

Summing up, in this section I have shown that both in Hungarian and in the dialects under consideration here, there are two components to the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis. On the one hand, a specialized projection in the CP-domain is activated to host the VERUM-operator; on the other hand the high PolP is focused and as a result its specifier is overtly realized and moved to specCP. In the next section, I use these findings as a background against which to explore the licensing and identification requirements of the SDR-proform.

12.4 Licensing *Pro*

Postulating an instance of *pro* in a particular construction is not without its theoretical consequences. A lot of the generative literature from the 1980s and early 1990s was devoted to discovering the precise licensing and identification requirements of this null element. An influential contribution to this debate was made by Rizzi (1986), who reached the two conclusions presented in (23), on the basis of a detailed comparison between Italian and English null objects (Rizzi 1986:519–520).

(23) a. *pro* is governed by $X_y{}^{\circ}$[23]
b. Let X be the licensing head of an occurrence of *pro:* then *pro* has the grammatical specification of the features on X coindexed with it.

The condition in (23)a represents the licensing requirement of *pro*. Null pronominals are only allowed to occur in a very specific structural relation with a particular syntactic head. This structural relation was commonly assumed to be that of government; that is, *pro* has to be governed by a syntactic head. The statement in (23)b on the other hand represents the identification requirement of *pro*. The syntactic head that licenses this null pronominal was also assumed to be responsible for identifying its phi-feature content.

Since the advent of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), the notion of government is no longer assumed to be a theoretical primitive. One of the tasks facing current theories of *pro,* then, is to determine if and how the basic empirical insights of the previous accounts can be retained in the new framework.[24] This is what I will undertake in this section. Moreover, given that most of the literature is concerned with the licensing and identification of DP-*pro,* I will also explore how

the theory can be extended to incorporate instances of non-DP-*pro* such as the one found in SDRs (see Lobeck 1999, López 1995, 1999, for related considerations).

From a theory-neutral point of view, it seems that the main empirical findings with respect to *pro* can be captured by the statements in (24).

(24) a. *pro* has to be in a local relation with a syntactic head
b. this head has to have the ability to link *pro* to its antecedent
c. this head is marked with 'rich' morphology

Let me illustrate these generalizations on the basis of the Italian subject pro-drop example in (25).

(25) *pro* ho parlato a tuo fratello.
have$_{1SG}$ spoken to your brother
'I have spoken with your brother.' [Italian]

In this sentence, the subject position is occupied by a null pronominal. Its presence is licensed because it is in a local (here: spec-head) relation with the inflectional head I° (in accordance with (24)a). Moreover, this head carries phi-features, which allows the content of *pro* to be recovered (see (24)b). In this particular example, I° is marked for first person singular, which allows *pro* to be interpreted as coreferential with the speaker of the utterance.[25] Third, there is the requirement in (24)c. It was commonly assumed in the 1980s that the reason Italian does and English does not allow *pro* to occur in the subject position of finite clauses is that the Italian agreement endings are "richer" or "more informative" than their English counterparts. While in Italian every form in the agreement paradigm receives a different ending, the English system contains a very high degree of syncretism and hence is less informative. As a result, only the Italian system was considered to be "rich enough" to allow for the recovery of *pro*'s phi-feature content. Although the precise relation between rich morphology and the recoverability of *pro* has since been argued to be more complex than I have just outlined (see Jaeggli and Safir 1989, Rizzi 1997b for relevant discussion),[26] I will assume in what follows that there is nonetheless a connection between the two. In so doing I follow Rorhrbacher (1999:242–261), who argues in detail that a language allows pro-drop if and only if the first and second person are distinctively marked in at least one number of one tense of the verbal paradigm. In other words, pro-drop is licensed if the verbal paradigm is sufficiently morphologically rich. For the remainder of this discussion, then, I assume that a head that licenses *pro* not only has to be endowed with the appropriate features but also has to morphologically realize them to a sufficient degree.

With all of this as background, I now turn to the proform that I argued is present in SDRs. Recall the three requirements imposed on a *pro*-licensing and -identification environment in (24). With respect to the property in (24)b, it is clear that the linkage between the SDR-proform and its antecedent will be of a different nature than in the case of DP-*pro*. Given that a null DP-pronominal is nothing but a collection of phi-features, it can be exhaustively identified when its licensing head is

endowed with such features. In the chapter 11, however, I have argued that an SDR-proform pronominalizes a much larger part of the clausal structure. Given that it is highly unlikely that there is a head that encodes all the relevant (lexical, thematic, aspectual, etc.) information of the missing structure, the head that licenses the SDR-proform must be one that serves as a *connection* between the proform and its antecedent, rather than one that exhaustively identifies that antecedent. Here, I follow López (1995) and López and Winkler (2000), who argue that it is polarity marking (i.e. negation and affirmation) that performs this linking function with respect to non-DP-proforms. To borrow some metaphorical terminology from López (1995:188), polarity has the ability to act as a "hook" between two sentences in a discourse. Prime examples of this polarity-induced linking function are *yes* and *no*. These elements are polarity markers par excellence, but they only occur in a discourse, where they link two clauses (usually a yes/no-question and its answer) to one another.[27] However, as López (1995:188) points out, dialogues like the one in (26) indicate that an element like *not* can have such an anaphoric function as well.[28] It is this anaphoric ability that enables polarity marking to link a non-DP-proform to its antecedent.

(26) A: Is Joan coming?
B: I think not.

What the preceding discussion suggests, then, is that the head that licenses the SDR-proform is Pol°. However, according to the requirement in (24)c, this Pol°-head has to be morphologically realized as well in order for the proform to be recoverable. In light of the preceding sections, the preverbal negative clitic *en* immediately comes to mind: it is merged as the head of the high PolP, and it differs from the low Pol° in that it is morphophonologically overt. As a result, I will henceforth assume that the proform I have postulated in SDRs is licensed by the head of the high PolP when this head is realized as the negative clitic *en*.[29] In affirmative clauses, it is the suprasegmental affirmative counterpart of the negative clitic, which is realized as heavy stress on the verb *duun* 'do', that licenses the SDR-proform. Note that this line of reasoning immediately accounts for one of the puzzling aspects of SDRs. While in normal, nonelliptical negative clauses, the negative clitic *en* is optional (and usually left out), it is obligatory in SDRs. This is now straightforwardly compatible with my account. The clitic is obligatory because its presence is crucially needed for the licensing and identification of the SDR-proform.[30] In technical terms, I will assume that the mechanism that forces *en* to be overt is focus marking (henceforth [+F]-marking) on the head of the high PolP. The reasoning goes as follows. When [+F] is assigned to the high PolP, in principle there is an option as to whether to assign this feature to the specifier or to the head of this projection. Given that in (dialect) Dutch, [+F]-marking is normally associated with focal stress, and given that the head of the high PolP contains a phonologically deficient element (i.e. the negative clitic *en* or its affirmative counterpart), in the default scenario, [+F] is assigned to specPolP (resulting in movement of *wel* or *nie* to specCP, see earlier). In SDRs, however, the licensing and identification of the null proform requires the head of the high PolP to be spelled out. In this case, [+F] is exceptionally assigned to Pol°, ensuring that *en*

will always be realized.[31] Interestingly, the assumption that the head of the high PolP is [+F]-marked in SDRs receives empirical support from the dialect of Izenberge. Consider first the dialogue in (27).

(27) A: Marie ziet Piere geeren.
Mary sees Peter gladly

B: a. Toch NIET, Marie (en) ziet Piere NIET geeren.
PRT not Mary NEG sees Peter not gladly

b. * Toch niet, Marie (en) ZIET Piere niet geeren.
PRT not Mary NEG sees Peter not gladly

'A: Marie loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't love Peter.' [Izenberge Dutch]

The example in (27)Ba represents an instance of a nonelliptical reply expressing contradictory sentential emphasis (see section 12.3 for discussion).[32] As the contrast between (27)Ba and (27)Bb indicates, the stress obligatorily falls on the negative element *niet* 'not' rather than on the verb. This follows from the account of contradictory sentential emphasis I have developed. Recall that one of the main ingredients of this type of reply is focus movement of the negative element from specPolP to specCP. Given that focused elements normally receive stress, the facts in (27) are in accordance with this analysis.[33] Now consider (28).

(28) A: Marie ziet Piere geeren.
Mary sees Peter gladly

B: a. * Ze'n doe NIE.
she.NEG does not

b. Ze'n DOE nie.
she.NEG does not

'A: Marie loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Izenberge Dutch]

Recall that Izenberge Dutch is one of the dialects that optionally allows the postverbal negator *nie* 'not' to be expressed in SDRs; that is, it allows for the overt realization of the specifier position of the high PolP. Given that SDRs always express contradictory sentential emphasis, the preceding discussion leads one to expect that Izenberge Dutch SDRs will pattern with the data in (27) with respect to stress assignment. As the dialogue in (28) shows, the facts are quite the opposite. In Izenberge Dutch SDRs, it is always the verb and never the negative adverb *nie* 'not' that is stressed. I take this as a strong indication that in SDRs, it is not the specifier but rather the head (realized here as the clitic+verb-complex) of the high PolP that is [+F]-marked. A similar point, though from a slightly different angle, can be made on the basis of affirmative SDRs in Izenberge Dutch. Consider first the non-SDR-data in (29).

(29) A: Marie ziet Piere niet geeren.
Mary sees Peter not gladly

B: a.		Toch	WEL,	Marie	ziet	Piere	WEL	geeren.
		PRT	AFF	Mary	sees	Peter	AFF	gladly
b.	*	Toch	wel,	Marie	ZIET	Piere	wel	geeren.
		PRT	AFF	Mary	sees	Peter	AFF	gladly

'A: Marie doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does love Peter.' [Izenberge Dutch]

These examples are in all relevant respects identical to those in (27). In nonelliptical affirmative replies expressing contradictory sentential emphasis, it is the emphatic affirmative element *wel* 'AFF' and not the verb that receives main stress. Once again, there is a contrast with the SDR-data.

(30)	A:	Marie	ziet	Piere	niet	geeren.	
		Mary	sees	Peter	not	gladly	
	B: a.	* Ze	doet	{ wel	/	WEL}.	
		she	does	AFF		AFF	
	b.	Ze	DOET.				
		she	does				

'A: Marie doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Izenberge Dutch]

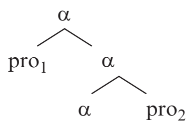
As the reply in (30)Ba shows, the affirmative element *wel* 'AFF' is excluded in SDRs, regardless of whether it is stressed or not. This confirms my hypothesis that in SDRs, it is the head rather than the specifier of PolP that is [+F]-marked. Recall from the previous section that *wel* 'AFF' only shows up in *emphatic* affirmative contexts, that is, when specPolP is [+F]-marked. The fact that this element is excluded in affirmative SDRs in Izenberge Dutch suggests that in SDRs [+F]-marking is assigned to Pol° rather than to specPolP.

Summing up, what I have argued so far is that the head that is responsible for the licensing and identification of the SDR-proform is the head of the high PolP when it is [+F]-marked and morphologically realized as the negative clitic *en* (or its affirmative counterpart). What remains to be established, then, is the precise nature of the local structural relation this head and the proform are in. This is an issue whose scope extends well beyond this chapter (or even this book), as it applies to all instances of *pro* and more generally to all constructions in which the notion of government was assumed to play a role. As a result, my proposal here should be seen as tentative and preliminary, and future research will have to determine to what extent it can be successfully extended to other instances of null pronominals or of government. However, given that my proposal is a fairly general one and that in the analysis of SDRs presented in chapter 13 nothing much will hinge on the particular implementation of this local relation, the discussion I will present here will suffice for my present purposes.

I assume that the local relation between the proform and its licensing head has to be established through the operation Merge (without doubt the most neutral and uncontroversial local relation available in current minimalist theorizing); that is, a proform at some point in the derivation has to be merged with an appropriate syntactic head in order to be licensed. Moreover, when combined with a Bare Phrase

Structure-approach to structure building (Chomsky 1994), there are two types of configurations in which *pro* can be merged with its licensing head. Consider the abstract structure in (31).

(31)



Chomsky (1995:246) argues that the head of a complex syntactic object is also the label of that object. This means that in a structure such as that in (31), both *pro*$_1$ and *pro*$_2$ are merged with α. From the point of view of the present discussion, this means that—under the assumption that α is an appropriate head to license and identify null proforms—both *pro*s are licensed in this structure. Under a traditional X-bar-theoretic approach to clause structure, *pro*$_1$ would be identified as occupying specαP, and *pro*$_2$ would be in the complement position of α. Given that both these positions would be governed by α (assuming a definition of government based on m-command), this proposal seems to have the correct empirical coverage (at least in principle).[34] As a result, I assume for the remainder of the discussion that in order for a null proform to be licensed, it has to be merged with an appropriate head.

12.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented and discussed three theoretical prerequisites for my analysis of SDRs. First, I have shown that there is evidence suggesting that the dialects I am considering make use of two PolPs, one dominating TP and one dominated by TP. More generally, the clause structure that will form the basis for my analysis of SDRs is the one given in (32).

(32) [$_{CP}$ C° [$_{Agr_SP}$ Agr$_S$° [$_{PolP}$ Pol° [$_{TP}$ T° [$_{PolP}$ Pol° [$_{vP}$ V° . . .]]]]]]

Second, I follow Lipták (2003) in assuming that the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis consists of two components: first, the activation of the C°-related head VFoc° to host the VERUM-operator, and second, focus movement of the polarity of the clause to the specifier of the CP-projection immediately dominated by VFocP. In non-SDRs expressing contradictory sentential emphasis, VFoc° is lexicalized as *toch,* and the specifier of the high PolP is moved to specCP.

Third, I have argued that the proform that is present in SDRs is properly licensed and identified if it is merged with the high Pol°-head. Moreover, this head has to be [+F]-marked and morphophonologically realized as *en* (or its affirmative counterpart).

13

The Analysis

13.1 Overview

With the theoretical background firmly in place, I now turn to the actual analysis of SDRs. In the next section, I go through the derivation of an SDR step by step; in section 13.3 I return to the basic properties of SDRs as I have outlined them in chapter 11 and explore to what extent they can be accounted for under the proposed analysis. Section 13.4 summarizes and concludes.

13.2 Deriving an SDR

In order to make the analysis as explicit as possible, I will explore how an SDR is derived in a step-by-step fashion. In this section, I present the derivation of B's reply in the dialogue in (1).

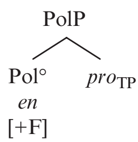
(1) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly

B: Jou z'en duut.
yes she.NEG does

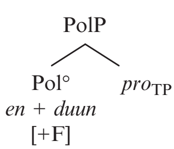
'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

I begin the analysis by putting together two conclusions that were reached in the preceding chapters. First, I argued in chapter 11, on the basis of a comparison between SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases, that the SDR-proform pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than merely VP. Second, in chapter 12 I established that

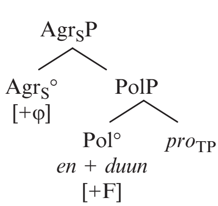
in order for the SDR-proform to be properly licensed and identified, it has to be merged at some point in the derivation with the [+F]-marked, morphologically realized head of the high PolP. The minimal hypothesis, then, is that this merger relation is established as soon as the proform is introduced into the derivation. That is, the proform is licensed through first merger, not through a subsequent operation of copy+remerge (i.e. move or Internal Merge) (see note 34 of chapter 12). The tree structure in (2) represents this first step in the derivation.

(2)


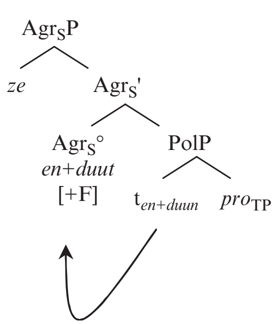
In this structure, the SDR-proform is merged with a Pol°-head that is [+F]-marked and that as a result is obligatorily spelled out as *en*. This means that it is now properly licensed and that it can be successfully linked to its antecedent (i.e., identified). It also implies that I can now be more precise about which part of the clausal structure is pronominalized by the SDR-proform: it replaces the entire TP. Note also about the structure in (2) that the element that is inserted in the head position of the newly created PolP is phonologically deficient (*en* being a clitic) and as a result is in need of phonological support, all the more so since this head is also [+F]-marked and hence should receive focal stress. In a normal, nonelliptical clause, a verbal element would raise from within the TP to Pol°, thus providing this head with the necessary phonological support. Given that the proform does not have any internal structure, however, this option is not available here. Instead, *do*-support (or rather *duun*-support) is triggered in order to provide Pol° with a phonological host. This is illustrated in (3).

(3)


The next step in the derivation involves the merger of Agr_S°. This head is endowed with phi-features that have to be checked against a DP-subject and spelled out on a verbal head.

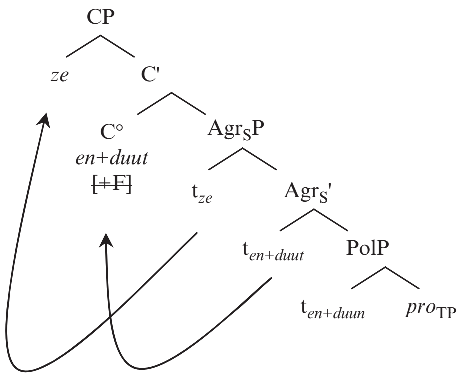
(4)


At this point, the derivation is faced with a problem similar to the one that triggered *do*-support in (3). The head of the derivational tree contains a set of features that are normally checked against an XP situated lower in the tree (i.e. the subject), but due to the lack of internal structure of the TP-proform, no such XP is available. Once again, I want to suggest, this problem is resolved through base-generation. Specifically, the derivation in (4) continues by base-generating the subject *ze* 'she' in the specifier position of Agr$_S$P. Before proceeding, I will address the potential theta-theoretic problem that might arise in this type of derivation. It is commonly assumed that the reason subjects are merged inside the *v*P (i.e. the VP-internal subject hypothesis, see Koopman and Sportiche 1991, Zagona 1982) is that is where they receive a theta-role. Base-generating the SDR-subject in specAgr$_S$P thus seems to deprive this DP of theta role assignment. However, with the elimination of D-structure as an independent level of representation (Chomsky 1995), the only level at which theta-theoretic concerns play a role is LF, the level that communicates with the conceptual-intentional interface. That means that the derivation I proposed is only illicit if it fails to converge at LF. Given that LF is also the level at which the antecedent of the SDR-proform is determined (see the fact that Binding Theory applies at LF, Chomsky 1995), there is now a way out of the theta-problem. Assuming that the SDR-proform can be interpreted as a predicate, that is, as an expression of type <e,t> (and see Hardt 1993 for extensive discussion in favor of this assumption), the SDR-subject can receive its theta-role by being combined with this predicate at LF. As a result, the derivation converges in spite of the subject not being base-generated in spec*v*P (see López 1995:133–136 for related considerations).[1] Accordingly, the derivation in (4) proceeds as in (5): the subject pronoun *ze* 'she' is merged directly in specAgr$_S$P, and the verb+clitic-complex moves to Agr$_S$° and receives the appropriate agreement ending.[2]

(5)


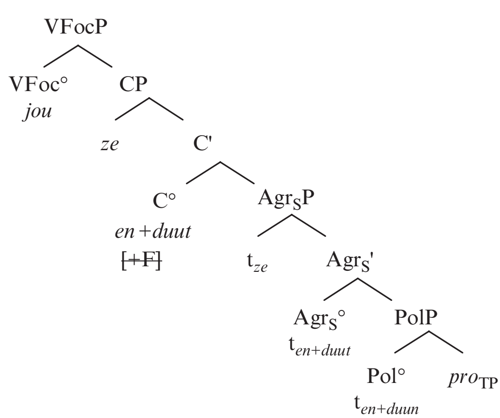
Next, C° is merged. It is endowed with a [+F]-feature, targeting the [+F]-feature of the Pol°-head. This results in (Pol°-to-)Agr$_S$°-to-C°-movement.[3] Moreover, Wambeek Dutch is subject to a V2-requirement, which essentially states that the highest specifier cannot be left unfilled. Given that no XP has to move to specCP for feature checking requirements, it is the subject (the closest category available) that raises to specCP (see Svenonius 2002 for an account of V2 along these lines).

(6)



Finally, VFoc° is merged on top of this structure. Recall that it is in this head that the VERUM-operator is situated. In chapter 12, I followed Lipták (2003) in the assumption that in Hungarian this head is lexicalized as *igenis* 'yes.AFF'. I now want to suggest that the element *jou* 'yes' that can accompany SDRs (see the appendix to chapter 11) is the spell-out of VFoc° in the SDR-dialects I am considering. Note that from the point of view of Hungarian, this identification is very plausible. Just like *igenis,* the element *jou* 'yes' that can accompany SDRs shows up both in affirmative and in negative contexts. Moreover, both elements seem to be etymologically related to the affirmative polarity marker, and both are restricted to occur only in contexts of contradictory sentential emphasis (recall from the appendix to chapter 11 that the element *jou* 'yes' that accompanies SDRs differs markedly from any other occurrence of this polarity marker). All of this means, then, that the next step in the derivation should be represented as in (7).

(7)



This concludes the derivation of B's reply in (1). Note that this structure crucially makes use of all the ingredients introduced in chapter 12. First of all, the SDR-proform is licensed in the high PolP, and the agreement on *duun* 'do' and the

presence of the subject are dependent on this PolP being lower in the structure than Agr_sP. Second, the analysis of the contradictory sentential emphasis reading induced by SDRs consists of two components: the left-peripheral VFoc°-head, realized as *jou,* and focus movement of a polarity element (in this case the head Pol°) into the CP-domain. Third, the SDR-proform is licensed through merger with a morphologically realized, [+F]-marked Pol°-head.

In order to fully evaluate the success of the analysis, however, I have to return to the basic properties of SDRs and determine to what extent they can be accounted for by the derivation sketched earlier. This is my concern in the next section.

13.3 The Basic Properties of SDRs Revisited

Recall that chapter 11 contained a comparison between SDRs on the one hand and VP-ellipsis and *duun*-paraphrases on the other. This resulted in the following list of basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs.

(8) Basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs

a. The subject
- The subject is a weak pronominal coreferential with the preceding subject
- If the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive, the SDR-subject is *'t* 'it'.
- The use of *'t* 'it' as an SDR-subject is gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns.
- Some dialects allow the weak subject pronoun to be doubled.

b. Negation
- Negation is obligatorily marked by the (normally optional) preverbal clitic *en.*
- This clitic can in some dialects be accompanied by the postverbal negator *nie* 'not'.

c. Emphatic affirmation
- Emphatic affirmation is marked by stress on the verb *duun* 'do'.
- The affirmative adverb *wel* is obligatorily absent.

d. The verb
- The verb is always the verb *duun* 'do'.
- *Duun* 'do' is not a main verb in SDRs (cannot be preceded by modals or auxiliaries, cannot show up in participial or infinitival form, can replace stative verbs).
- *Duun* 'do' only occurs in the present tense.
- *Duun* 'do' can be used to replace modals and auxiliaries.

e. The gap
- The gap is not a PF-deleted syntactic structure (no *there*-expletives, no agreement with the elided associate DP, no wh-movement, no pseudogapping, and no object clitic movement) but rather a null proform.
- This proform replaces a larger part of the structure than merely VP.

f. Distribution
- SDRs only occur productively in short contradictory replies to declarative statements.

g. Co-occurrence restrictions
- SDRs cannot be combined with 'yes' and 'no'.
- SDRs cannot be combined with adverbs, except (at least for some speakers) very high ones such as *pertang* 'however' or *iejrlek gezeid* 'frankly'.

In this section, I go through this list point by point in order to see to what extent the derivation outlined in the previous section is successful in accounting for the basic characteristics of SDRs. I start with the properties listed in (8)a.

As I discussed extensively in chapter 11, an SDR-subject has to be a weak pronominal coreferential with the subject of the antecedent clause. This requirement comprises three separate subclaims: the subject cannot be noncoreferential with the antecedent subject, it cannot be a strong pronoun, and it cannot be a proper name. Consider an illustration of this in (9).

(9) A: Marie kom mergen.
Mary comes tomorrow
B: a. Z'en duut.
she_{WEAK}.NEG does
b. *(Mo) Jef en duut.
but Jeff NEG does
c. *Zaai en duut.
$\text{she}_{\text{STRONG}}$ NEG does
d. *Marie en duut.
Mary NEG does
'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, she isn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The cause of the ungrammaticality of B's replies in (9)Bb and (9)Bc is the same. Recall that SDRs are only used to express contradictory sentential emphasis; that is, they express a contrast between two clauses that differ *only* in their polarity. A side-effect of this kind of reading is that the element expressing the polarity is the only part of the reply that can be [+F]-marked. All the other information has to be topical. This implies that DPs expressing new information such as *Jef* 'Jeff' in (9)Bb are excluded, and that the weakest (i.e. the most topical) form of the subject pronoun has to be chosen (compare (9)Ba with (9)Bc). That it is indeed the reading induced by SDRs that is responsible for the restrictions illustrated in (9)Bb and (9)Bc is further suggested by the data in (10).

(10) A: Marie kom mergen.
Mary comes tomorrow
B: a. *Toch nie, Jef kom nie.
PRT not Jeff comes not
b. *Toch nie, zaai kom nie.
PRT not $\text{she}_{\text{STRONG}}$ comes not. [Wambeek Dutch]

These examples represent the nonelliptical counterparts of the SDRs in (9)Bb and (9)Bc (see chapter 12, section 12.3 for discussion). As shown by the grammaticality

judgments, the same subject restrictions apply in these examples. This is a further indication that it is the contradictory sentential emphasis reading that is responsible for the unacceptability of (9)Bb and (9)Bc.[4] At the same time, this line of reasoning suggests that the explanation for the deviance of the reply in (9)Bd should be sought elsewhere. Consider the example in (11).

(11) A: Marie kom mergen.
Mary comes tomorrow

B: Toch nie, Marie kom nie mergen.
PRT not Mary comes not tomorrow

'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, she isn't coming tomorrow.' [Wambeek Dutch]

While the nonelliptical reply in (11) allows the full DP subject of the antecedent clause to be repeated, the SDR in (9)Bd does not. Given that both clauses express contradictory sentential emphasis, the meaning of the reply cannot be the culprit in this case. I want to suggest that it is the fact that the SDR-subject is base-generated in specAgr_SP that is responsible for the ungrammaticality of (9)Bd. There are several ways this intuition can be implemented, and given that I have not found any positive evidence in favor of one option over the other, I will refrain from making a choice between them here. A first possibility would be to assume the following. Given that base-generating a subject in specAgr_SP is a marked operation, the only type of subject that *can* be base-generated there is one that is a pure spell-out of $Agr_S°$'s phi-features, that is, pronouns. Full DP subjects contain lexical information as well as person/number/gender-features and hence would be excluded from being merged in that position. Pronouns are more "functional" in nature and as a result can be merged higher in the tree. Alternatively, it might be the case that the clause structure I have proposed should be further refined. Specifically, the projection in which pronominal subjects are licensed might be different from (and hierarchically higher than) the position full DP subjects move to. If the high PolP is situated in between these two subject positions, the absence of full DP subjects in SDRs follows naturally. Pronominal subjects the only type of subject that can be merged in SDRs because the only projection that is available is one that is specialized for this kind of phrase.[5] All in all, then, it seems reasonable to assume that the absence of nonpronominal subjects in SDRs can be made to follow from the fact that SDR-subjects are base-generated in specAgr_SP.[6]

The remaining three characteristics of SDR-subjects concern the behavior of *'t* 'it' and the possibility of doubling. Recall the list given in (8)a (repeated here).

(12) Basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs

a. The subject
- The subject is a weak pronominal coreferential with the preceding subject
- If the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive, the SDR-subject is *'t* 'it'.
- The use of *'t* 'it' as an SDR-subject is gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns.
- Some dialects allow the weak subject pronoun to be doubled.

In order to understand SDRs to clauses that contain a *there*-expletive, it is again informative to first look at their nonelliptical counterparts. Consider the data in (13).

(13)	A:	Dui	stui	ne	man	inn	of.			
		there	stands	a	man	in.the	garden			
	B:	a.	Toch	nie,	dui	stui	ginne	man	inn	of.
			PRT	not	there	stands	no	man	in.the	garden
		b.	*Toch	nie,	ij	stui	nie	inn	of.	
			PRT	not	he	stands	not	in.the	garden	

‘A: There is a man standing in the garden. B: No, there isn’t.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

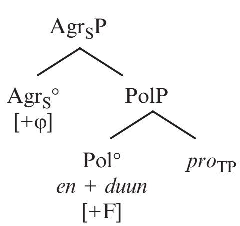
This example shows that a nonelliptical contradictory reply to a clause containing a *there*-expletive features a *there*-expletive construction itself. As is shown in (13)Bb, it is not possible to pronominalize the associate-DP (in this case *ne man* ‘a man’) and to use that pronoun as the subject of the reply. At first sight, these findings leave no room at all for SDR-replies to clauses containing a *there*-expletive. Recall that due to the lack of internal structure in the SDR-proform, *dui* ‘there’ is not allowed as a subject in this construction (given that this type of expletive has to co-occur with an indefinite associate DP lower in the structure).[7] This means that neither of the two options exemplified in (13) is available to SDRs. Nevertheless, this construction can be used in reply to a sentence containing a *there*-expletive, provided the subject is the third person singular neuter pronoun *‘t* ‘it.’ Reconsider an example of this in (14).

(14)	A:	Dui	stonj	drou	mann	inn	of.
		there	stand$_{\text{PL}}$	three	men	in.the	garden
	B:	‘t	En	duut.			
		it	NEG	does			

‘A: There are three men standing in the garden. B: No, there aren’t.’ [Wambeek Dutch]

In order to see what is going on in this example, consider the stage of the derivation right before the subject is merged.

(14)



In this partial tree structure, Agr$_S$° is endowed with case and agreement features that are in need of checking against a DP-subject. However, no such DP is available. One alternative that immediately comes to mind is the insertion of an expletive subject.

As I have argued, though, inserting the expletive *dui* 'there' is not allowed, as there is no associate DP. The only option that remains, then, is merging expletive *'t* 'it' in specAgr_SP. This, I want to argue, is exactly what has happened in B's reply in (14). In other words, this SDR is in all relevant respects identical to the example of expletive *'t* 'it' in (16).

(16)	't	Is	megelek	da	Lewie	merge	komt.
	it	is	possible	$that_{C°}$	Louis	tomorrow	comes

'It is possible that Louis will come tomorrow.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In this sentence, $Agr_S°$ is confronted with a problem similar to the one depicted in (15). It needs to check case and agreement, but the only elements it encounters in its search space are the adjective *megelek* 'possible' and the CP *da Lewie merge komt* 'that Louis tomorrow comes.' Given that neither of these two is a suitable target for case and/or agreement, the expletive pronoun *'t* 'it' is merged in specAgr_SP.[8] It absorbs nominative case and triggers a third person singular ending on the copula. As such, this example is essentially identical to the SDR in (14)B, with one caveat. Given that expletive *it* is generally assumed to be a placeholder for CPs, that is, propositions, I have to assume that the SDR-proform in (14)B represents an entire proposition. This seems at odds with my earlier argumentation that it is a one-place predicate that provides a theta-role for the subject at LF. It thus appears that SDR-proforms can refer either to predicates (say, VPs or TPs) or to propositions (say, CPs). Note that this is precisely the kind of flexibility that is gained by postulating a proform in the derivation of a particular construction. Such a proform has as its antecedent a semantic entity, not a specific and invariant amount of clausal structure (see also Hardt 1993 in this respect). In order to fully appreciate this point, it is worth looking at some examples featuring the overt proform *da* 'that'. Consider (17).

(17)	a.	Ziek,	dad	is	Jef	nie	gau.
		sick	that	is	Jeff	not	fast

'Jeff is not often sick.'

b.	De	gazet	lezen,	da	duune-k-ik	geirn.
	the	newspaper	read	that	$do\text{-}I_{CLITIC}\text{-}I_{STRONG}$	gladly

'Reading the newspaper, I like.'

c.	Da	Lewie	merge	komt,	da	kanne-k	moeilijk	geliejven.
	that	Louis	tomorrow	comes	that	$can.I_{CLITIC}$	difficult	believe

'That Louis will come tomorrow, I find hard to believe.' [Wambeek Dutch]

All three these examples are instances of so-called contrastive left dislocation (see Grohmann 2003). In (17)a, an AP has been left-dislocated, in (17)b a VP, and in (17)c a CP. In all three these cases, however, the clause-internal demonstrative pronoun that is coindexed with the left-dislocated XP is the proform *da* 'that'. This means that one and the same element can pronominalize both a predicative constituent such as AP or VP and a propositional one such as CP.[9] Hence, it is not surprising that this option is available to the SDR-proform as well.[10]

One question that remains, though, is why expletive *'t* 'it' is not inserted in *all* SDRs, rather than just in those that have an expletive construction as their antecedent. Although I do not have a full-fledged answer to this question, it is suggestive that SDRs with *'t* 'it' as their subject are gaining ground at the expense of SDRs with a fully specified personal pronoun (see the third item on the list in (12)a). As has emerged from the preceding discussion, the mechanism through which a fully specified subject is inserted into an SDR-derivation is a highly marked one. In particular, *pace* the VP-internal subject hypothesis, such a subject has to be base-generated directly in specAgr_SP. The principle operative in (14)B, however, is a very standard one that is found in other constructions as well (see the example in (16)). As a result, it is not surprising that the second strategy is becoming more general at the expense of the first one.[11]

The final subject-related characteristic of SDRs concerns the fact that some dialects allow pronominal subject doubling in this construction. I will argue that this observation provides supporting evidence for a particular aspect of the analysis presented earlier, namely the fact that an SDR-subject has moved into specCP. Consider first some basic data in (18).[12]

(18) A: Lewie zie Pierre geirn.
Louis sees Peter gladly
B: ?IJ en duud ij.
he NEG does he
'A: Louis loves Peter. B: No, he doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In order to show how these data support the account of SDRs outlined in the previous section, I need to provide some more background information on pronominal subject doubling in the dialects under consideration here. I want to stress, though, that I will not be concerned with providing fully worked-out accounts of these phenomena. I limit myself to some basic empirical generalizations and a plausible structural implementation of them. (For a more in-depth discussion of pronominal subject doubling, see Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen 2002b, 2002c, 2008a.)

One of the main empirical points made by Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002b, 2002c, 2008a), is that—contrary to common belief (see for example Cardinaletti and Starke 1999, De Geest 1995, Haegeman 1990, 1992, Zwart 1993a, 1993b)—pronominal subject doubling in dialect Dutch comes in two varieties. The first one is the construction traditionally referred to as clitic doubling. It involves the combination of a subject clitic and a coreferential strong subject pronoun. An example is given in (19).

(19) Merge spele me waailn.
tomorrow play we_{CLITIC} we_{STRONG}
'Tomorrow we'll play.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The second construction is similar to clitic doubling, in that the second instance of the subject is a strong pronoun, but differs from examples like the one in (19), in that

the first occurrence of the subject can be a weak pronoun, a strong pronoun, a full DP, or a proper name.[13] Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002b, 2002c) dub this construction topic doubling. Consider (20).

(20) { Ze / Zaai / Dei vrou / Marie } kom zaai mergen oek.
she$_{\text{WEAK}}$ / she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ / that woman / Mary comes she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ tomorrow also
'She / SHE / That woman / Mary is coming tomorrow as well.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The main reason the distinction between clitic doubling and topic doubling has gone largely unnoticed in the literature is the fact that Dutch dialects often fail to make a morphological distinction between weak pronouns and clitics. This makes it difficult to distinguish between the two constructions, especially if the dialect in question allows only weak pronouns to be topic doubled (see note 13). In those contexts where there *is* a morphological distinction, however, a distributional asymmetry between the two constructions shows up. Consider (21).[14]

(21) a. { * Me / We } spele waaile geirn.
we$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ / we$_{\text{WEAK}}$ play we$_{\text{STRONG}}$ gladly
'We like to play.'

b. Merge spele { me / * we } waailn.
tomorrow play we$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ / we$_{\text{WEAK}}$ we$_{\text{STRONG}}$
'Tomorrow we'll play.'

c. … da { me / *we } waaile geire spelen.
that$_{\text{C°}}$ we$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ / we$_{\text{WEAK}}$ we$_{\text{STRONG}}$ gladly play
' . . . that we like to play.' [Wambeek Dutch]

These examples show that topic doubling and clitic doubling are in complementary distribution.[15] While the former only occurs in subject-initial main clauses, the latter is restricted to inverted main clauses and embedded clauses. This means that the doubling found in SDRs is an instance of topic doubling. Therefore, I will focus on this construction in the remainder of my discussion. As pointed out earlier, I will not be concerned here with providing a full analysis of topic doubling. Instead, I want to consider what the implications of the data in (21) are for the structural position occupied by the first subject element in a topic doubling example.

What Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002b, 2002c) suggest is that the distribution of topic doubling follows naturally under the assumption that the first occurrence of the topic doubled subject (e.g. *we* 'we' in (21)a) occupies specCP. Such a point of view predicts that topic doubling is disallowed when specCP is already filled by another phrase or independently unavailable. As it turns out, this is precisely what happens in inverted main clauses and embedded clauses. In (21)b, specCP is already occupied by the fronted adverb *mergen* 'tomorrow'. As a result, no subject-DP can occur there, and topic doubling is excluded. As for the embedded clause in (21)c, it is well documented—though ill understood—that in noninterrogative embedded clauses in (dialectal) Dutch, specCP cannot be filled (see for example Barbiers 2002b, Hoekstra and Zwart 1994, 1997, Zwart 1997). This

means that no subject can occur there either and hence that topic doubling is once again excluded.

It should be clear by now what the relevance of the preceding discussion is for the analysis of SDRs. The distribution of topic doubling suggests that the first occurrence of a topic doubled subject is situated in specCP.[16] The fact that an SDR-subject can also partake in this construction can then be seen as an indication that SDR-subjects are (or at least can be; see also note 10 of chapter 14) situated in specCP. One aspect of doubling in SDRs remains to be clarified, though. Recall from chapter 11 that this type of doubling is not allowed in all the dialects I am considering.

(22)	a.	Z'en	doe	zij.	[Waregem Dutch]
	b. ?	Z'en	duu	zaai.	[Wambeek Dutch]
	c. ?*	Z'en	doe	zij.	[Kleit Dutch]
	d. ?*	Z'en	doet	zij.	[Klemskerke Dutch]
	e. *	Z'en	doe	zij.	[Izenberge Dutch]
		she_{WEAK}-NEG	does	$\text{she}_{\text{STRONG}}$	
		'No, she doesn't.'			

Given the line of argumentation just developed, these data might lead one to assume that while in the dialects of Waregem and Wambeek an SDR-subject can occupy specCP, in the dialects of Kleit, Klemskerke, and Izenberge it cannot. I believe there is an alternative explanation for these data. As pointed out by Devos (1986:168), there is a lot of dialectal variation with respect to whether or not pronominal doubling of the type exemplified in (21)a is used to induce a contrastive reading. For example, as shown in (23), in the dialect of Wambeek, topic doubling cannot be used to express a contrast.

(23)	A:	Komme	Marie	en	Pierre	oek	mergen?	
		come_{PL}	Mary	and	Peter	also	tomorrow	
	B: *	Ze	kom	ZAAI	wel,	mo	AAI	nie.
		she_{WEAK}	comes	$\text{she}_{\text{STRONG}}$	AFF	but	$\text{he}_{\text{STRONG}}$	not

INTENDED: 'A: Are Mary and Peter also coming tomorrow? B: SHE is, but HE isn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

This raises a new possible account for the deviance of (22)c–e. Recall from the discussion earlier that strong pronouns are disallowed as SDR-subjects because they are nontopical. They express contrastive information and as a result are incompatible with the contradictory sentential emphasis reading induced by the SDR. This predicts that dialects in which topic doubling is used to express a contrastive reading, that is, dialects in which B's reply in (23) is grammatical, should disallow doubling in SDRs. As table 13.1 illustrates, the predicted anticorrelation is indeed found in the data.

This means that the data in (22) are not to be taken as an indication that SDRs in Waregem Dutch and Wambeek Dutch differ substantially from their counterparts in

TABLE 13.1. Anticorrelation between doubling in SDRs and contrastive doubling

	Doubling in SDRs	*Doubling + contrastive reading*
Waregem Dutch	✓	*
Wambeek Dutch	?	?*
Kleit Dutch	?*	?
Klemskerke Dutch	?*	✓
Izenberge Dutch	*	✓

the other three dialects. Doubling of the SDR-subject is disallowed in the dialects of Kleit, Klemskerke, and Izenberge because doubling in these dialects induces a contrastive reading. Given that such a reading is incompatible with contradictory sentential emphasis, the examples in (22)c–e are ungrammatical.[17]

This concludes my overview of the subject-related characteristics of SDRs.[18] As has become clear from the sheer length of the discussion, the restrictions on the SDR-subject are one of the more complex aspects of the syntax of SDRs. About many of the other basic properties I can be brief, as they were already part and parcel of the analysis itself. The first one I turn to is negation marking.

(24) Basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs

b. Negation

- Negation is obligatorily marked by the (normally optional) preverbal clitic *en*.
- This clitic can in some dialects be accompanied by the postverbal negator *nie* 'not'.

Under the present account, the fact that the preverbal negative clitic *en* is obligatorily present in SDRs follows naturally from the fact that the high Pol°-head has to be morphologically realized in order for the SDR-proform to be properly licensed and identified. The second property listed in (24)b I do not have an account for, however. It is unclear why the dialect of Izenberge allows the presence of the postverbal negator *nie* 'not' in SDRs, while the dialects of Waregem, Wambeek, Kleit, and Klemskerke do not. Apparently, these two dialect groups differ in the requirements they impose on the overt realization of the specifier of the high PolP. In Waregem, Wambeek, Kleit, and Klemskerke this specifier can only be spelled out if it is itself [+F]-marked; the dialect of Izenberge is more lenient in this respect, and also allows *nie* 'not' to occur when the *head* of the PolP is [+F]-marked.[19] Future research will have to determine if this particular property correlates with other characteristics of the dialects in question.

The next issue, emphatic affirmation marking, is very closely related to the previous one. The list in (25)c represents the basic SDR-characteristics in this domain.

(25) Basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs

c. Emphatic affirmation

- Emphatic affirmation is marked by stress on the verb *duun* 'do'.
- The affirmative adverb *wel* is obligatorily absent.

The first property is once again related to the fact that the SDR-proform is licensed by the head of the high PolP. In affirmative SDRs, this head is spelled out as a suprasegmental affirmative morpheme, which is realized as heavy stress on the verb *duun* 'do.' The absence of the affirmative adverb *wel* 'AFF' also follows naturally. Recall that this element does not show up in neutral affirmative clauses, that is, when it is not [+F]-marked. Given that in SDRs it is the head rather than the specifier of the high PolP that is [+F]-marked, *wel* is categorically disallowed in this construction.

The properties in (26)d all pertain to the verb found in SDRs.

(26) Basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs
d. The verb
- The verb is always the verb *duun* 'do'.
- *Duun* 'do' is not a main verb in SDRs (cannot be preceded by modals or auxiliaries, cannot show up in participial or infinitival form, can replace stative verbs).
- *Duun* 'do' only occurs in the present tense.
- *Duun* 'do' can be used to replace modals and auxiliaries.

Recall that the presence of the verb *duun* 'do' in SDRs is the result of *do*-support. Hence, it is not at all surprising that this verb has none of the characteristics of main verb *duun* 'do'. On the other hand, the proform in the complement of *duun* 'do' replaces the entire TP. This means that *duun* 'do' never moves through T° and as a result can only occur in the present tense (which I assume to be an instance of default tense marking). Moreover, the base positions of modals and other auxiliaries are arguably also contained in the structure that is pronominalized by the SDR-proform.[20] That explains why they can never occur in this construction.[21]

The fifth set of SDR-characteristics concerns the properties of the gap.

(27) Basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs
e. The gap
- The gap is not a PF-deleted syntactic structure (no *there*-expletives, no agreement with the elided associate DP, no wh-movement, no pseudogapping, and no object clitic movement) but rather a null proform.
- This proform replaces a larger part of the structure than merely VP.

The two properties in (27)e have played a central role throughout the analysis. I have taken as a starting point for my account the hypothesis that SDRs involve a null proform that replaces the entire TP. As a result, the generalizations in (27)e do not need any further discussion here.[22]

(28) Basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs
f. Distribution
- SDRs only occur productively in short contradictory replies to declarative statements.

An important ingredient of the licensing and identification requirements of the SDR-proform is the assumption that the head of the high PolP has to be [+F]-marked in order for the proform to be licit. Under the assumption (made explicit in chapter twelve, section 12.3) that [+F]-marking on the high PolP (whether on the head or on the specifier) always results in a reading of contradictory sentential emphasis (and concomitant movement into the CP-domain), the property in (28)f follows naturally.[23] This brings me to the seventh and final set of properties typical of SDRs.

(29) Basic properties of dialect Dutch SDRs
 g. Co-occurrence restrictions
 - SDRs cannot be combined with 'yes' and 'no'.
 - SDRs cannot be combined with adverbs, except (at least for some speakers) very high ones such as *pertang* 'however' or *iejrlek gezeid* 'frankly'.

The second of these two characteristics is once again a consequence of the fact that the SDR-proform pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than merely VP. As this structure also includes the base-generated positions of all but the very high adverbs, it follows that these are the only ones that can co-occur with SDRs. The interaction with 'yes' and 'no' requires somewhat more discussion. Recall from the previous section that I have identified the element *jou* 'yes' that can co-occur with both negative and affirmative SDRs as an instantiation of the VFoc°-head, which lexicalizes the VERUM-operator. This leaves the question of why "regular" instances of *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' cannot show up in SDRs. In order to account for this, I need an additional assumption: that *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' are merged in the same specifier as the one targeted by specNegP-to-specCP movement in replies expressing contradictory sentential emphasis. The incompatibility of SDRs with these elements is then the result of them competing for the same structural position.[24] I explore the syntax of *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' in more depth in chapter 15. The data discussed there will render more plausible the assumption that *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' occupy specCP. I will show that these polarity elements can co-occur with the same range of subject clitics and agreement endings also found on complementizers.

Summing up, in this section I have evaluated the success of the analysis outlined earlier by going through the list of the basic properties of SDRs. Given that the large majority of them follows naturally from the proposed account, it seems fair to conclude that the analysis has been successful.

13.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have proposed an analysis for dialect Dutch SDRs. I have shown that this construction arises as a result of the interplay between the three theoretical prerequisites outlined in chapter 12: the fact that SDRs contain a null proform that is licensed by the morphologically realized, [+F]-marked head of the high PolP, the fact that SDRs induce a contradictory sentential emphasis reading, and the fact that

the high PolP is situated below $Agr_{S}P$ in the clausal hierarchy. Moreover, I have argued that the proposed analysis is able to account for a large majority of the basic SDR-characteristics discussed in chapter 11. In the next chapter, I argue that a particular construction in Brabant Dutch contains a nonnull counterpart of the SDR-proform.

14

Spelling Out the Proform

Da's Nie *and* Da's Wel

14.1 Overt versus Covert Proforms

One aspect of the SDR-proform I have left undiscussed so far is the question whether this null pronominal has an overt counterpart as well. Note that when it comes to DP-*pro,* this is trivially the case. For instance, next to the Italian pro-drop example presented in chapter 12 (and repeated here as (1)), there is the sentence in (2) in which the null proform has been replaced by the overt pronominal *io* 'I'.

(1) *pro* ho parlato a tuo fratello.
have$_{1SG}$ spoken to your brother
'I have spoken with your brother.' [Italian]

(2) Io ho parlato a tuo fratello.
I have$_{1SG}$ spoken to your brother
'I have spoken with your brother.' [Italian]

In light of these data, it seems reasonable to ask whether the same holds for the SDR-proform, that is, whether a construction exists in which the nonnull counterpart of this pronominal is used.[1] In this chapter, I argue that B's replies in (3), (4), and (5) represent precisely such a construction.[2]

(3) A: Marie gaat naar de film.
Mary goes to the movie

B: Da's nie.
that.is not

'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

(4) A: Marie gaat nie naar de film.
Mary goes not to the movie

B: Da's wel.
that.is AFF

'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.' [Brabant Dutch]

(5) A: Marie gaat nie naar de film.
Mary goes not to the movie

B: Da's jawel.
that.is yes.AFF

'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.' [Brabant Dutch]

In all three these dialogues, speaker B contradicts A's statement by means of a short reply consisting of the proform *da* 'that', the third person singular form of the copula *zijn* 'be', and the polarity element *nie* 'not' in negative replies and *wel* 'AFF' or *jawel* 'yes.AFF' in affirmative ones.[3] Given that this construction occurs very productively in Brabant Dutch, the nonstandard variety of Dutch spoken in large parts of the Belgian province of Flemish Brabant, the data will be mainly drawn from this variety.[4] What I want to argue in this chapter is that the examples in (3)–(5) represent the Brabant Dutch counterpart of SDRs, and more specifically, that the element *da* 'that' in B's reply in (3)–(5) is the overt variant of the SDR-proform. At first sight, it is not clear in what way *da's nie* 'that.is not' and *da's (ja) wel* 'that.is (yes.)AFF' are related to SDRs, so in the next section, I discuss a number of empirical parallelisms between the two constructions. In section 14.3, I present an analysis of these data that makes use of precisely the same theoretical tools as the SDR-analysis in chapter 13. Section 14.4 is devoted to dispelling three possible alternative accounts for this construction. In section 14.5, I summarize the main findings of this chapter and show how the data discussed here form the beginning of a typology of constructions containing non-DP proforms in (varieties of) Dutch.

14.2 The Data

14.2.1 Introduction

In this section, I discuss seven properties of the construction introduced above that it shares with SDRs, thus giving some empirical weight to the hypothesis that the two are related at some level of representation. Before doing so, I want to point out that the assumption that the overt counterpart of the SDR-proform is spelled out as *da* 'that' is not altogether an implausible one. Consider again the following data (example (16) in chapter 13).

(6) a. Ziek, dad is Jef nie gau.
sick that is Jeff not fast
'Jeff is not often sick.'

b. De gazet lezen, da duune-k-ik geirn.
the newspaper read that do-I_{CLITIC}-I_{STRONG} gladly
'Reading the newspaper, I like.'

c. Da Lewie merge komt, da kanne-k moeilijk geliejven.
that Louis tomorrow comes that can.I_{CLITIC} difficult believe
'That Louis will come tomorrow, I find hard to believe.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Recall from the discussion in chapter 13 that the SDR-proform can be interpreted either as a property (when its subject is a fully specified personal pronoun) or as a proposition (when the expletive pronoun *'t* 'it' is merged in specAgr_SP). As the data in (6) illustrate (and as already pointed out), the same interpretations are also available to the overt proform *da* 'that'. In (6)a and (6)b, it refers to an AP and a VP, respectively, and is interpreted as a one-place predicate.[5] In (6)c on the other hand, it is anaphoric on an entire CP and as a result is interpreted as a proposition. This makes *da* 'that' a likely candidate for being the overt counterpart of the SDR-proform. The data I will discuss next further reinforce this intuition.

14.2.2 Distribution

A first striking similarity between SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* concerns their distribution. Like SDRs, *da's nie/(ja)wel* only occurs in short replies to declarative clauses and always expresses contradictory sentential emphasis. Moreover, neither of the two constructions can be embedded. This is shown for *da's nie/(ja)wel* in (7) and (8).

(7) A: Marie gaat naar de film.
Mary goes to the movie

B: ?*Ik denk dat da nie is.
I think $that_{C°}$ that not is

INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: I think she doesn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

(8) A: Marie gaat nie naar de film.
Mary goes not to the movie

B: a. ??Ik denk dat da wel is.
I think $that_{C°}$ that AFF is

b. * Ik denk dat da jawel is.
I think $that_{C°}$ that yes.AFF is

INTENDED: 'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: I think she does.' [Brabant Dutch]

Before I proceed, a note on the grammaticality judgments is in order. Given that there turns out to be a fair amount of interspeaker variation with respect to this construction, the judgments given in this chapter represent the average of eight native speakers.

I believe this variation is the result of interference from a homophonous construction, in which the proform *da* 'that' is the subject of the intransitive existential main verb *zijn* 'be', and *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* not' are the realization of the low specPolP. That something along these lines is correct is suggested by the fact that when *jawel* 'yes.AFF' is used in this construction, the interspeaker variation decreases dramatically, and the judgments become much sharper. As I will show in section 14.2.7, *jawel* 'yes.AFF' cannot occupy the specifier position of the low PolP, and as a result, the ambiguity that exists in the case of *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' disappears.

Abstracting away from these subtleties in judgment, though, the examples in (7)–(8) show that as far as their distribution is concerned, SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* pattern completely alike. This is a first indication that the hypothesis that the two constructions are related is on the right track.

14.2.3 Modals and Auxiliaries

The verb used in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is always the copula *zijn* 'be', regardless of which verb occurs in the antecedent clause. This is shown for the perfective auxiliary *hebben* 'have' in (9) and for the modals *willen* 'want' and *mogen* 'may' in (10) and (11), respectively.

(9) A: Marie heeft nen boek gekocht.
Mary has a book bought
B: a. Da's nie.
that.is not
b. * Da heeft nie.
that has not
'A: Mary has bought a book. B: No, she hasn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

(10) A: Karel wil nie komen.
Carl wants not come
B: a. Da's wel.
that.is AFF
b. *Da wil wel.
that wants AFF
'A: Carl doesn't want to come. B: Yes, he does.' [Brabant Dutch]

(11) A: Bart mag hier nie komen.
Bart may here not come
B: a. Da's jawel.
that.is yes.AFF
b. *Da mag jawel.
that may yes.AFF
'A: Bart is not allowed to come here. B: Yes, he is.' [Brabant Dutch]

These data are reminiscent of the fact that the verb that shows up in SDRs is invariably *duun* 'do', even if the antecedent clause contains a different auxiliary or a modal. As such, these examples constitute a second parallelism between the two constructions.

14.2.4 Periphrastic Tenses

Very much related to the previous point is the fact that the verb *zijn* 'be' in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is itself never preceded by an auxiliary. This is illustrated in (12).

(12) A: Marie haar grootvader is gesneuveld in WOI.
Mary her grandfather is died in World.War.One

B: a. Da's nie.
that.is not

b. * Da's nie geweest.
that.is not been

'A: Mary's grandfather died in World War I. B: No, he didn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

Once again, this is a point of parallelism with SDRs, in which the verb *duun* 'do' is subject to the same restriction.

14.2.5 Past Tenses

A further restriction imposed on the verb in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is the fact that it can only occur in the present tense, even if the antecedent clause is set in the simple past. This is illustrated in (13).

(13) A: Mary zag Pierre graag.
Mary saw Peter gladly

B: a. Da's nie.
that.is not

b. ?* Da was nie.
that was not

'A: Mary loved Peter. B: No, she didn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

Recall that the exact same observation holds for the SDR-verb. As such, the example in (13) represents a fourth characteristic with respect to which the two constructions pattern alike.

14.2.6 Co-occurrence with Adverbs

A fifth point of similarity between the two constructions concerns the set of adverbs with which *da's nie/(ja)wel* can co-occur. Consider (14)–(16).

(14) A: Karel kent de eerste 1000 cijfers van pi uit zijn hoofd.
Carl knows the first 1000 digits of pi out his head

B: ?* Da's nie meer.
that.is not anymore

INTENDED: 'A: Carl knows the first 1000 digits of pi by heart. B: He doesn't anymore.' [Brabant Dutch]

(15) A: Marie komt morgen.
Mary comes tomorrow

B: ?* Da's waarschijnlijk nie.
that.is probably not

INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: She probably isn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

(16) A: Ik ben nie aansprakelijk voor die schade.
I am not liable for that damage

B: Da's wel, eerlijk gezegd.
that.is AFF honestly said

'A: I am not liable for that damage. B: Frankly, you are.' [Brabant Dutch]

These examples show that *da's nie/(ja)wel* can only be combined with very high adverbs such as *eerlijk gezegd* 'frankly'. Lower ones such as *meer* 'anymore' or even *waarschijnlijk* 'probably' are excluded. In other words, the same co-occurrence restrictions apply here that were operative in SDRs. Thus, these data provide a fifth indication that the hypothesis pursued in this chapter is on the right track.

14.2.7 The Importance of the High PolP

The next argument concerns the question of which of the two PolPs is involved in *da's nie/(ja)wel* and SDRs. Consider (17).

(17) *Marie heeft diejen boek gisteren jawel gelezen.
Mary has that book yesterday yes.AFF read
INTENDED READING: 'Mary DID read that book yesterday.' [Brabant Dutch]

In this sentence, the polarity marker *jawel* 'yes.AFF' is situated to the right of the scrambled object *diejen boek* 'that book', a position I have identified in chapter 12 as the specifier position of the low PolP. Given that the example in (17) is ungrammatical, it seems fair to conclude that *jawel* 'yes.AFF' cannot occupy this particular structural position. Now let me turn to the data in (18).

(18) A: Marie gaat nie naar de film.
Mary goes not to the movie

B: Jawel, Marie gaat wel naar de film.
yes.AFF Mary goes AFF to the movie
'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.' [Brabant Dutch]

As illustrated by this example, *jawel* 'yes.AFF' can occur in sentence-initial position in a full clausal reply expressing contradictory sentential emphasis. In chapter 12, I have analyzed this word order as the result of (focus) movement from the specifier position of the high PolP to specCP. This means that *jawel* 'yes.AFF' is a polarity element that is typically and exclusively associated with the high PolP. The fact it can also occur in the construction under discussion here, then, indicates that the high rather than the low PolP is involved in the derivation of *da's nie/(ja)wel*. Given that I reached precisely the same conclusion about SDRs in chapters 12 and 13, this constitutes a further argument in favor of a unified account of these two constructions.

14.2.8 Co-occurrence with 'Yes' and 'No'

Short Do Replies and *da's nie/(ja)wel* also pattern alike with respect to whether or not they can co-occur with left-peripheral polarity elements such as *ja* 'yes', *nee* 'no', *toch nie* 'PRT not', and *toch wel* 'PRT AFF'. Consider (19)–(21).

(19) A: Marie komt nie morgen.
Mary comes not tomorrow
B: a. ??Ja, da's wel.
yes that.is AFF
b. ?*Toch wel, da's wel.
PRT AFF that.is AFF
[Brabant Dutch]

(20) A: Marie komt nie morgen.
Mary comes not tomorrow
B: a. ?*Ja, da's jawel.
yes that.is yes.AFF
b. *Toch wel, da's jawel.
PRT AFF that.is yes.AFF
[Brabant Dutch]

(21) A: Marie komt morgen.
Mary comes tomorrow
B: a. ??Nee, da's nie.
no that.is not
b. ?*Toch nie, da's nie.
PRT not that.is not
[Brabant Dutch]

Although there is a certain amount of variability in the judgments here (see also the discussion following example (8)), the general tendency is clear. When *da's nie/(ja) wel* is combined with a left-peripheral polarity element such as *ja* 'yes'/*nee* 'no'

or *toch wel* 'PRT AFF'/*toch nie* 'PRT not', the result is degraded. As such, these data constitute a seventh empirical domain in which SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* pattern alike.[6]

14.2.9 Conclusion: SDRs versus *Da's Nie* and *Da's (Ja)wel*

In light of the data presented in the preceding seven sections, it seems fair to conclude that SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* are more alike than they appear to be at first sight. Table 14.1 summarizes the main findings that have led to this conclusion.

The properties listed in table 14.1 show that there is a very detailed parallelism between the two constructions. Both are only used to express contradictory sentential emphasis, and both contain a non-DP proform. Moreover, the evidence suggests that these two proforms pronominalize the same part of the extended verbal projection. Recall from chapter 13 that I took the nonoccurrence of all but the very high adverbs, the absence of past tenses, and the absence of modals and auxiliaries as evidence that the SDR-proform replaces a larger part of the clausal structure than merely VP (namely TP in my account). Given that the very same properties also hold for *da's nie/(ja)wel,* the natural conclusion seems to be that the proform *da* 'that' that occurs in this construction pronominalizes TP as well. In other words, in light of the data summarized in table 14.1, it is very plausible to assume that the instance of *da* 'that' found in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is in every respect the overt counterpart of the null proform I postulated in the analysis of SDRs.

The foregoing discussion has also revealed a number of differences between the two constructions. Most notably, while the verb found in SDRs is invariably *duun* 'do', in *da's nie/(ja)wel* the copula *zijn* 'be' is always used. Second, while the

TABLE 14.1. Comparison of SDRs and *da's nie/da's (ja)wel*

	SDRs	*Da's nie/da's (ja)wel*
Distribution	Only in nonembedded contradictory replies	Only in nonembedded contradictory replies
Verb	*duun* 'do'	*zijn* 'be'
Verb can replace modals and auxiliaries	✓	✓
Verb can be preceded by auxiliary	*	*
Verb can occur in the past tense	*	?*
Co-occurrence with adverbs	Only very high adverbs	Only very high adverbs
High or low PolP	High	High
Co-occurrence with 'yes' and 'no'	?*	??/?*
Co-occurrence with *toch wel/toch nie*	*	?*/*

SDR-proform is always accompanied by a pronominal subject (whether a fully specified personal pronoun or the expletive pronoun *'t* 'it'), no such DP is present in *da's nie/(ja)wel*. Third, the two constructions also differ with respect to negation and emphatic affirmation marking. In *da's nie/(ja)wel,* polarity is expressed by lexicalizing the specifier position of the high PolP as *nie* 'not,' *wel* 'AFF' or *jawel* 'yes.AFF'; in SDRs, it is invariably the *head* of this PolP that is activated. Fourth, the SDR-proform has no phonetic content, while in *da's nie/(ja)wel* the overt proform *da* 'that' is used. Fifth and finally, while the SDR-proform is situated in the complement position of the high Pol°-head, the overt proform *da* 'that' appears to occupy the subject position of the clause.

Clearly, an adequate analysis of *da's nie/(ja)wel* should be able to capture the close similarities with SDRs, while at the same time doing justice to the differences between the two constructions. In the next section, I try to construct such an account.

14.3 The Analysis

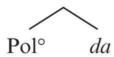
In this section, I present my analysis of *da's nie/(ja)wel*. In order to make the comparison with the account of SDRs outlined in chapter 13 as explicit as possible, I will once again proceed step by step through the derivation of a specific example, in this case B's reply in (22).

(22)	A:	Marie	gaat	nie	naar	de	film.
		Mary	goes	not	to	the	movie
	B:	Da's	wel.				
		that.is	AFF				

'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.' [Brabant Dutch]

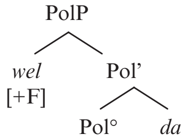
Recall that in section 14.2.9 I established that the proform *da* 'that' that shows up in *da's nie/(ja)wel* pronominalizes the same part of the clausal structure as the null SDR-pronominal does. This means that in the first step of the derivation, *da* 'that' is merged with the high Pol°-head. However, given that this pronominal is overt, and hence not in need of special (head-)licensing (see chapter 12, section 12.4), the derivation differs from that of SDRs, in that this Pol°-head is neither [+F]-marked nor morphologically realized. Consider the partial tree structure in (23).

(23)



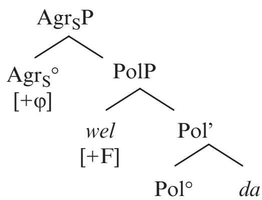
Next, the polarity element *wel* 'AFF' is merged as the specifier of this PolP. Recall from chapter 12, section 12.3 that I assume that whenever this specifier is overtly realized, it is also [+F]-marked. This is illustrated in (24).

(24)



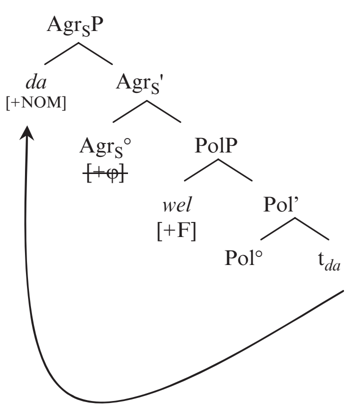
Third, Agr$_S$° is merged. It is endowed with agreement features that need to be checked against a DP-subject (to which it also assigns nominative case) and spelled out on a finite verb.

(25)



This is the point in the derivation of SDRs where a DP-subject had to be base-generated in specAgr$_S$P, as there was no suitable target to check the phi-features of Agr$_S$°. In this case, there is such a target. The proform *da* 'that' is an overt DP in need of case. As a result, it can check the phi-features of Agr$_S$°, move to specAgr$_S$P, and receive nominative case there. This is shown in (26).

(26)

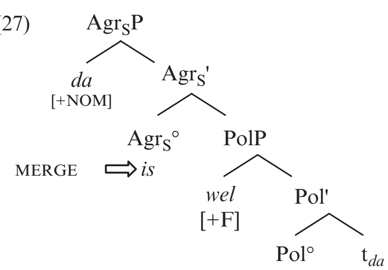


At this point, one could object that if the SDR-proform is nothing but the null counterpart of *da* 'that', it, too, should be able to check the agreement features of Agr$_S$° and move into specAgr$_S$P. Note, however, that because it is nonovert, the SDR-proform cannot check the EPP-feature of Agr$_S$° (at least not in a verb second language like (dialectal) Dutch). This means that even if Agr$_S$° were to agree with pro_{TP}, the derivation would still crash due to an EPP-violation. This violation is circumvented when another DP is present in the Numeration (either a subject pronoun or the expletive *'t* 'it'; see the discussion in chapter 13, section 13.3); but then Chomsky's (2001:15) Maximize Matching ensures that that DP at

the same time also agrees in phi-features with Agr$_S$°.[7] In the structure in (26), this problem does not arise, as *da* 'that' can check both the phi-features and the EPP-feature of Agr$_S$°.

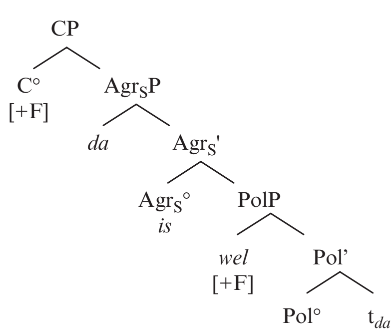
That said, the structure in (26) still faces a problem. The phi-features that Agr$_S$° has checked against *da* 'that' need to be spelled out on a verbal element. Given that the whole of TP has been pronominalized, no such verb can raise from lower in the structure. As a result, a dummy verb has to be inserted as a last resort operation, one that is the pure spell-out of Agr$_S$°'s phi-features. The most unmarked verb available for these purposes is the copula *zijn* 'be' (see also in this respect Becker 2004, Postma 1993).[8] This, I want to argue, is how the verbal element in *da's nie/(ja) wel* enters into the derivation. The tree structure in (27) provides an illustration of this.[9]

(27)



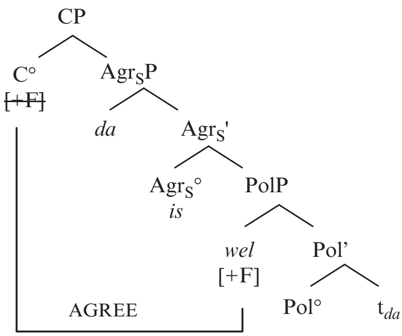
The next step in the derivation involves the merger of C°. This head is endowed with a [+F]-feature targeting that on the polarity element *wel* 'AFF'. This is represented in (28).

(28)



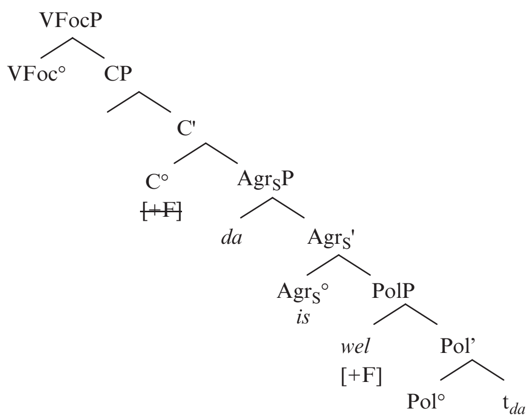
The question that arises at this point is whether the structure in (28) requires movement of *wel* 'aff' to specCP. Recall that I argued in section 12.3 that the overt nature of specPolP-to-specCP-movement is not due to the [+F]-feature as such but rather to the need to establish a negative concord reading between the two PolPs. In this structure, however, there crucially is no lower PolP. As a result, the [+F]-feature of C° can—and in fact must—be checked via Agree.[10] This is illustrated in (29).

(29)



Finally, in line with the analysis of SDRs developed earlier, the head hosting the VERUM-operator, VFoc°, is merged on top of this structure.[11]

(30)



This concludes the derivation of B's reply in (22). In order to evaluate this analysis, I will revisit the similarities and differences between *da's nie/(ja)wel* and SDRs, and determine to what extent they can be captured under my account. Note first that the contradictory sentential emphasis reading induced by both constructions is implemented virtually identically in the two derivations. A [+F]-feature is assigned to the high PolP (either to the head or to the specifier), this feature agrees with a matching feature on C°, and this CP-projection is immediately c-commanded by the left-peripheral head hosting the VERUM-operator (VFoc° in my account). This brings both these constructions perfectly in line with the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian, as discussed by Lipták (2003) (see chapter 12, section 12.3), clearly an advantageous result.

Second, my analysis has taken as its starting point the hypothesis that the element *da* 'that' in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is the overt counterpart of the SDR-proform. This allows for a unified account of several of the properties listed in table 14.1. For example, the fact that neither construction allows for past tenses follows straightforwardly from the fact that their verb doesn't move through T° and hence

cannot pick up (or check) past tense morphology. A similar line of reasoning applies to the absence of modals, auxiliaries, perfective aspect, and all but the very high adverbs. Given that all these elements are normally base-generated inside the structure that is now pronominalized by the proform, they can show up neither in SDRs nor in *da's nie/(ja)wel.*

Furthermore, in both constructions polarity is expressed by means of the high PolP, and crucial use is made of the fact that this projection is dominated by Agr_SP. In SDRs, the subject is merged in specAgr_SP; in *da's nie/(ja)wel,* the proform receives its nominative case in this position. Finally, the incompatibility of both constructions with 'yes' and 'no' also receives a unified account, but with a slight twist. Recall that in SDRs, this incompatibility follows from the fact that the CP-projection in which 'yes' and 'no' are merged is already occupied as a result of movement from the high PolP. This line of reasoning also holds for *da's nie/(ja)wel,* but at a different level of representation. Under the assumption that chains involving a weak (here: focus) feature trigger movement at LF, 'yes' and 'no' would be competing at that level with the element that is moved from specPolP. All in all, then, it seems fair to say that the analysis of *da's nie/(ja)wel* presented earlier is successful in capturing the similarities between this construction and SDRs.

The derivation in (23)–(30) also allows us to account for the differences between the two constructions. Consider first the fact that while the proform used in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is overt, the SDR-proform is not. From this it follows that in SDRs, it is the *head* of the high PolP that is [+F]-marked (this [+F]-marking being required for the licensing of *pro;* see chapter 12, section 12.4), whereas *da's nie/(ja)wel* can resort to the default pattern and assign [+F] to the *specifier* of PolP. In other words, the difference in negation and emphatic affirmation marking follows directly from the overt versus covert nature of the proform. Moreover, due to its having phonetic content, the proform used in *da's nie/(ja)wel* can check the EPP-feature of $Agr_S°$. That explains why it moves to specAgr_SP and why no other subject can show up in *da's nie/(ja)wel* (unlike in SDRs).

The fact that SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* feature a different verb (i.e. *duun* 'do' in SDRs versus *zijn* 'be' in *da's nie/(ja)wel*) requires a bit more discussion. In particular, I have argued that both these verbs are merged as a last resort operation in order to provide morphophonological support for features that would otherwise have been stranded. Hence, one might a priori expect the two operations to yield the same surface form. What I tentatively suggest here is that even in their auxiliary uses, *do* and *be* still share with the homophonous main verbs the fact that while *do* takes two arguments (someone does something), *be* only takes one (something is).[12] This would imply that the former is inserted when two noncoreferential entities need to be linked (i.e. the subject and the TP-proform in SDRs), while the latter is used when there is only one such entity (see the fact that *da* 'that' moves from within the complement of $Agr_S°$ to its specifier). In short, although the details remain to be worked out, it seems that the difference in verbal element between SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* can be made to follow from the analyses proposed in the preceding sections and chapters.

14.4 Dispelling Three Alternative Accounts

In this penultimate section, I briefly consider three possible alternative analyses for *da's nie/(ja)wel,* all three of which have some initial appeal to them. As I will show, most of the data discussed in section 14.2 cannot be adequately accounted for under these approaches. Consider the schematic representations in (31)–(33).

(31) *Da's* *nie* = *Da's* *nie* ~~*waar*~~
that.is not that.is not true

(32) *Da's* *nie* = *Da's* *nie* ~~*zo*~~
that.is not that.is not so

(33) *Da's* *nie* ≈ *Da's* *goe*
that.is not that.is good

The first two of these accounts share the assumption that *da's nie* 'that.is not' is an elliptical construction. As indicated in (31), one possible way to approach *da's nie* 'that. is not' is to assume that the adjective *waar* 'true' has been elided. Although the precise nature of the ellipsis mechanism responsible for this selective deletion is not immediately clear, this analysis does seem to have the advantage of reducing *da's nie* to a well-known type of subject-predicate structure in which the copula *zijn* 'be' links a DP to an AP. Another option, illustrated in (32), is to assume that it is the predicative adverb *zo* 'so' that has been elided. Again, the immediate result would be that *da's nie* is a run-of-the-mill predication structure. Moreover, Corver and Thiersch (2001) in their analysis of parentheticals postulate a null counterpart of the adverb *zo* 'so' in Dutch. *Da's nie* could be considered another construction in which this element shows up. A third possible approach is hinted at in (33). In particular, one could assume that it is the polarity element itself that is used as a predicate. In other words, *nie* 'not' would occupy the same structural position that *goe* 'good' does in *da's goe* 'that.is good'. What these three approaches have in common, then, is that they try to relate *da's nie/(ja)wel* to predication structures in which the copula *zijn* 'be' takes a DP as its subject (*da* 'that' in this case) and an AP or an AdvP as its complement.

However, as I will proceed to show, the properties of *da's nie/(ja)wel* discussed in section 14.2 render each of these three schematic accounts highly implausible. Let me start with the fact that *da's nie/(ja)wel* invariably induces a reading of contradictory sentential emphasis. With respect to negative replies to an affirmative antecedent, this immediately puts the *zo*-hypothesis represented in (32) in trouble. Consider the example in (34).

(34) A: Marie gaat naar de film.
Mary goes to the movie

B: ??Da's nie zo.
that.is not so

INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.'

[Brabant Dutch]

Predicative structures with the adverb *zo* 'so' can only marginally be used to contradict a preceding declarative statement. As a result, it is unlikely that they lie at the heart of *da's nie/(ja)wel*. The same applies to structures that contain the adjective *waar* 'true' in affirmative replies. This is shown in (35).

(35) A: Marie gaat nie naar de film.
Mary goes not to the movie

B: a. ?? Da's wel waar.
that.is AFF true

b. ?? Da's wel zo.
that.is AFF so

INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'

[Brabant Dutch]

What these examples illustrate is that both *da's wel waar* 'that.is AFF true' and *da's wel zo* 'that.is AFF so' are degraded when used to express contradictory sentential emphasis. The data become even more clear when these clauses are combined with the polarity element *jawel* 'yes.AFF'.

(36) A: Marie gaat nie naar de film.
Mary goes not to the movie

B: a. * Da's jawel waar.
that.is yes.AFF true

b. * Da's jawel zo.
that.is yes.AFF so

INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'

[Brabant Dutch]

Both the structure with *waar* 'true' and the one with *zo* 'so' is categorically incompatible with the polarity element *jawel* 'yes.AFF'. Given that this element productively shows up in the construction I am discussing in this chapter, these data represent a considerable problem for any hypothesis that tries to link these constructions.

Further indications that the hypotheses in (31)–(33) are not on the right track are provided by the data in (37)–(39).

(37) Ze zeggen dat da waarschijnlijk nie waar was.
they say that$_{C°}$ that probably not true was
'They say that it probably wasn't true.' [Brabant Dutch]

(38) Jan zei dat da waarschijnlijk al nie meer zo was.
John said that$_{C°}$ that probably already not anymore so was
'John said that it was probably already no longer the case.' [Brabant Dutch]

(39) Ik denk dat da waarschijnlijk nie meer goe was.
I think that$_{C°}$ that probably not anymore good was
'I think that it was probably not ok anymore.' [Brabant Dutch]

Recall from the previous section that the verb in *da's nie/(ja)wel* cannot be marked for past tense, that this construction cannot be embedded, and that it can only be combined with very high adverbs such as *eerlijk gezegd* 'frankly', not with lower ones such as *waarschijnlijk* 'probably' or *meer* 'anymore'. If the hypotheses in (31)–(33) are correct, then the same restrictions should apply to predicative structures with *waar* 'true', *zo* 'so', or *goe* 'good'. This prediction is not borne out by the data. The sentence in (37), for example, shows that the clause *da's nie waar* 'that.is not true' can occur in embedded contexts, that it can be combined with the adverb *waarschijnlijk* 'probably', and that its verb can show up as *was* 'was'. Moreover, as illustrated in (38) and (39), the same holds for *da's nie zo* 'that.is not so' and *da's goe* 'that.is good'. This makes it highly unlikely that *da's nie/(ja)wel* is derived from or otherwise related to any of these constructions. A similar point is made by the data in (40)–(42).

(40) Da's altijd waar geweest.
that.is always true been
'That has always been true.' [Brabant Dutch]

(41) Da's nooit zo geweest.
that.is never so been
'That has never been like that.' [Brabant Dutch]

(42) Da's altijd goe geweest.
that.is always good been
'That has always been ok.' [Brabant Dutch]

While the verb used in *da's nie/(ja)wel* cannot be preceded by the perfective auxiliary (see section 14.2.4), this is perfectly well possible for the occurrence of *zijn* 'be' that shows up in *da's waar* 'that.is true', *da's zo* 'that.is so', and *da's goe* 'that.is good'. As such, these data constitute another counterargument against the hypotheses in (31)–(33).

Finally, whereas *da's nie/(ja)wel* is incompatible with left-peripheral polarity elements such as *ja* 'yes', *nee* 'no', *toch nie* 'PRT not', and *toch wel* 'PRT AFF', no such restriction holds for the constructions discussed in this section. This is illustrated in (43)–(45).

(43) A: Is da waar? B: Nee, da's nie waar.
is that true no that.is not true
'A: Is that true? B: No, it isn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

(44) A: Da's nie zo. B: Toch wel, da's wel zo.
that.is not so PRT AFF that.is AFF so
'A: That isn't the case. B: Yes, it is.' [Brabant Dutch]

(45) A: Da's nie goe. B: Toch wel, da's wel goe.
that.is not good PRT AFF that.is AFF good
'A: That's not ok. B: Yes, it is.' [Brabant Dutch]

Summing up, the evidence just reviewed strongly and unequivocally contradicts the three hypotheses raised at the beginning of this section. *Da's nie/(ja)wel* is much more restricted in terms of meaning, distribution, verbal morphology, and co-occurrence possibilities than standard predicative constructions in which the copula *zijn* 'be' links a subject to its predicate. I take this as an indication that the analysis developed in the previous section is to be preferred over the ones discussed here.

14.5 Conclusion: Toward a Typology of Proform-Constructions

In this chapter, I have focused on a construction that I have argued contains the overt counterpart of the SDR-proform postulated in the previous chapters. I have shown that there is a substantial number of empirical similarities between this construction and SDRs. The account I proposed was able to capture the close parallelism with SDRs, while at the same time offering enough room to incorporate the differences between the two constructions. Finally, in section 14.4, I have shown that three alternative analyses of *da's nie/(ja)wel* that are plausible at first sight fail to capture many basic properties of this construction. In this concluding section, I want to broaden the perspective somewhat more and present the beginning of a typology of constructions in which the proform *da* 'that' or its covert counterpart can occur in dialect Dutch.

In the preceding sections, I have shown that there are substantial reasons to think that the proform *da* 'that' that shows up in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is the overt counterpart of the null pronominal found in SDRs. Obviously, *da's nie/(ja)wel* is not the only construction in which this proform occurs. One might be led to wonder, then, whether other instances of *da* 'that' have a nonovert counterpart as well. In what follows, I briefly look into this issue. I present a schematic overview of the types of constructions and configurations the proform *da* 'that' can be used in. In so doing, I will be focusing on the two questions listed in (46).

(46) a. What part of the structure is replaced/pronominalized by *da* 'that'?
b. Does this occurrence of *da* 'that' have a nonovert counterpart?

In my overview, I proceed in a bottom-up fashion, starting with the occurrences of *da* 'that' found in the lowest part of the clausal hierarchy. Consider in this respect the data in (47).[13]

(47) Hij heeft mij da gegeven.
he has to.me that given
'He has given that to me.' [Brabant Dutch]

In this example, *da* 'that' occupies the direct object position of the verb *geven* 'give'; that is, it pronominalizes a DP-argument. As such, it leaves the whole of the extended verbal projection intact. The verb can be freely marked for tense and aspect, can occur with all types of adverbs, and can have other internal arguments besides *da* 'that' (in this case the indirect object *mij* 'to.me'). As (48) shows, this occurrence of *da* 'that' cannot be replaced by *pro*.

(48) * Hij heeft mij *pro* gegeven.
he has to.me given [Brabant Dutch]

The reason for the ungrammaticality of this sentence is essentially the fact that (dialectal) Dutch is not a pro-drop language. The agreement heads (Agr_S and Agr_O) in this language are not suitable to license and/or identify null pronominals.[14] Hence, *da* 'that' can occur in this position, but *pro* cannot.

The second *da*-construction is one that has already featured in chapter 11: paraphrases with the main verb *doen* 'do.' Consider an example in (49).

(49) Ed heeft mij 200 euro gegeven maar Julia heeft da
Ed has to.me 200 euro given but Julia has that
nie gedaan.
not done.
'Ed has given me 200 euros, but Julia hasn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

In this sentence, *da* 'that' pronominalizes more than just an argument. All the internal arguments are missing, low manner adverbs are disallowed, and the lexical verb (*geven* 'give' in this case) has been replaced by the dummy activity verb *doen* 'do'. It seems plausible to assume, then, that in this example, *da* 'that' pronominalizes the entire VP. What remains unaffected is the external argument (arguably base-generated in spec*v*P, in which case *doen* 'do' might be the spell-out of *v*°), tense and aspect marking, modals and auxiliaries (presumably base-generated outside of the VP), and all but the very low adverbs. Once again, the covert counterpart of *da* 'that' is disallowed in this construction. This is illustrated in (50).

(50) * Ed heeft mij 200 euro gegeven maar Julia heeft *pro*
Ed has to.me 200 euro given but Julia has
nie gedaan.
not done. [Brabant Dutch]

Assume that in (50), the proform *da* 'that' is merged with the head of the low PolP. On the one hand, this would allow for a nice parallelism with the higher occurrence of *da* 'that' being merged with the head of the high PolP; on the other, it seems that from a derivational bottom-up approach to structure-building, one independently has to allow for this possibility. Recall that I have argued in this chapter that the occurrence of *da* 'that' found in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is merged with the head of the high PolP. Given that both PolPs are essentially identical, however, it cannot be determined at the point of merger if the Pol°-head *da* 'that' is merged with belongs

to the high or to the low PolP. Only when this structure is in turn merged with $Agr_S°$ can this be determined. This means that unless one resorts to (theoretically dubious) look-ahead mechanisms, the theory proposed here has to allow for the possibility that *da* 'that' is merged with the head of the low PolP. I assume that the construction in (49) instantiates precisely this option. At the same time, this line of reasoning also sheds light on the ungrammaticality of the example in (50). Recall from chapter 12 that the head of the low PolP is never morphologically realized as the negative clitic *en*. As a result, it is unable to license and identify a null proform, and *pro* is disallowed in this structure.[15]

Third, there is the construction that has been the focus of attention in this chapter, namely *da's nie/(ja)wel*. An example is given in (51).

(51)	A:	Marie	gaat	naar	de	film.
		Mary	goes	to	the	movie
	B:	Da's	nie.			
		that.is	not			

'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

Here, *da* 'that' pronominalizes an even larger part of the clausal hierarchy (TP in my account). This can be witnessed by the fact that in examples like B's reply in (51), even more functional elements have gone missing than in the previous two constructions. In *da's nie/(ja)wel* tense and aspect marking are disallowed, modals and auxiliaries cannot occur, all the arguments of the verb are absent, and all but the very high adverbs are excluded. What remains intact in this case is polarity marking, phi-feature agreement, and CP-related properties such as topic and focus. As I have argued at length in this and the preceding chapters, this instance of *da* 'that' *does* have a nonovert counterpart. It shows up in SDR-examples like the one in (52).

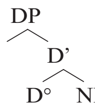
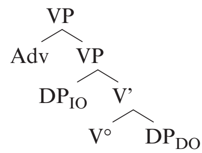
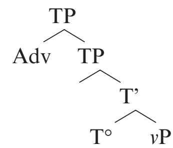
(52)	A:	Marie	zie	Pierre	geirn.
		Mary	sees	Peter	gladly
	B:	Z'en	duut *pro*.		
		she.NEG	does		

'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Given that the head of the high PolP meets all the requirements for the licensing and identification of null pronominals (see chapter 12, section 12.4), the use of *pro* is licit in this structure, and as a result this pronominal can be considered a null counterpart of the proform used in *da's nie/(ja)wel*.

Summing up, in this section I have placed both SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* in a broader typology of constructions in which part of the structure has been pronominalized. The main findings of this section are summarized in table 14.2.

TABLE 14.2. A typology of proform constructions in Dutch

Structure that is pronominalized			
Overt proform	✓	✓	✓
Covert proform	*	*	✓

Moreover, I have argued that the fact that the proform *da* ‘that’ has a nonovert counterpart only in a small subset of these constructions follows from the stringent licensing and identification requirements imposed on null pronominals.

15

Conjugated 'Yes' and 'No' in SDR-Dialects

15.1 Agreement and Inflection on 'Yes' and 'No'

In this chapter, I focus on another aspect of the syntax of the SDR-dialects introduced earlier: the way they form short replies to yes/no-questions. As I will demonstrate, such replies make use of exactly the same syntactic structure that underlies SDRs. As such, the data discussed here represent an extension of the analysis proposed in chapter 13. Consider first some basic examples in (1) and (2).[1]

(1) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: Jui-s.
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(2) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: Nieje-s.
no-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: No.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Instead of merely using a polarity marker such as *jou* 'yes' or *nieje* 'no', speaker B replies to A's questions by means of a combination of such a polarity element with a clitic (in this case *s* 'she') that refers back to the subject of the preceding yes/

no-question (here *Marie* 'Mary').[2] Moreover, in those dialects that display the phenomenon commonly referred to as 'complementizer agreement' (see Carstens 2003, Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen 2002a, Zwart 1993a, 1993b, 1997), clitics are not the only elements that can be attached to 'yes' and 'no'. Consider the Waregem data in (3) and (4).

(3) Kpeize da-n ze gewonnen èè-n.
I.think that-PL they won have-PL
'I think they've won.' [Waregem Dutch]

(4) A: Èè-n ze gewonnen?
have-PL they won

B: Ja-n-s.
yes-PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

'A: Have they won? B: Yes.' [Waregem Dutch]

The sentence in (3) shows that in the dialect of Waregem, the finite complementizer *da* 'that' agrees in number with the subject of the embedded clause. It is combined with the same plural suffix that is also found on the finite verb *èèn* 'have'. As (4) illustrates, this ending can also show up in short replies to yes/no-questions. Speaker A asks a question whose subject is the third person plural pronoun *ze* 'they', and B replies with a combination of the polarity element *ja* 'yes', the plural agreement ending *n,* and the third person plural subject clitic *s* 'they'. I will henceforth refer to examples like the ones in (1), (2), and (4) as conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' (or conjugated 'yes' and 'no' for short). They will form the main empirical focus of this chapter.

The dialect survey carried out in the context of the SAND project (see chapter 1) suggests that it is no coincidence that this construction shows up in the SDR-dialects introduced earlier. Consider in this respect figure 15.1.

On this map, all the places are indicated where SDRs or conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' were attested during the SAND interviews. It is clear that there is a large overlap between these two constructions. There is a substantial contiguous area—comprising French Flanders, West Flanders, East Flanders, and the west of Flemish Brabant—that systematically and consistently features both constructions.[3] This might be taken as an indication that SDRs and conjugated 'yes' and 'no' are related to one another at some level of analysis. I will pursue (and substantiate) this intuition in this chapter. Given that it is not a priori clear what SDRs have in common with the data presented earlier, I begin my discussion by pointing out a number of empirical parallelisms between the two constructions. In particular, in section 15.2, I show that there are reasons to assume that the SDR-proform is present in the examples in (1), (2), and (4) as well. Section 15.3 focuses on the analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. I first provide an account for those elements that can*not* be combined with 'yes' and 'no' and then turn to the elements that *can*. The latter part of the discussion will also shed new light on the absence of subject

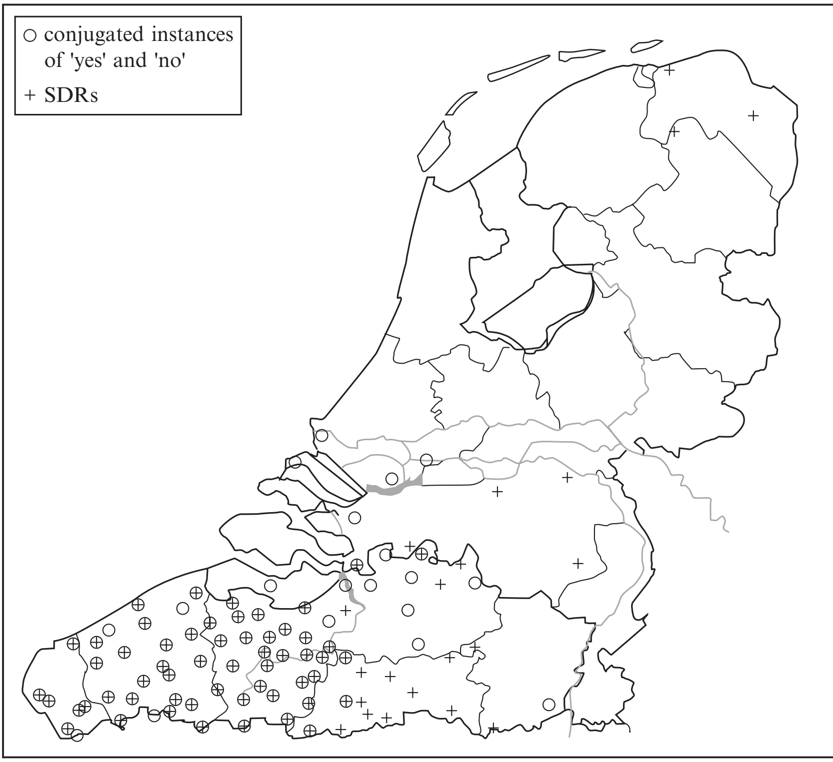


FIGURE 15.1 Correlation between SDRs and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'

clitics and complementizer agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases (see Lobeck 1995, Merchant 2001, Van Craenenbroeck and Den Dikken 2006). In section 15.4, I introduce and critically review a previous analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'—the one in Postma and van der Wurff (2007). Section 15.5 sums up and concludes.

15.2 The Data

15.2.1 Introduction

In the following sections, I explore the construction introduced earlier in somewhat more detail. In so doing, I focus on four empirical domains: restrictions on the subject, *there*-expletives, object clitics, and the use of the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it'.[4] In the final section, I point out how these findings strengthen the hypothesis that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' are related to SDRs.

15.2.2 Subject Restrictions

A point taken for granted so far but worth stressing is that the clitic attached to 'yes' and 'no' has to be coreferential with the *subject* of the preceding yes/no-question. Consider in this respect (5).

(5) A: Ei Jef z' a gegeven?
has Jeff them to.you given

B: a. Jo-n.
yes-he$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

b. * Jui-s.
yes-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

c. * Jui-k.
yes-I$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

'A: Has Jeff given them to you? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, A's question contains a ditransitive verb with a third person singular masculine subject, a second person singular indirect object, and a third person plural direct object. As indicated by the grammaticality judgments of B's replies, the subject is the only one of these three that can serve as the antecedent for the clitic attached to *jou* 'yes'. In other words, the clitic found in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is always coreferential with the subject of the preceding yes/no-question.

A second point of interest is illustrated by (6).

(6) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: a. Jui-s.
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

b. * Jui-ze.
yes-she$_{\text{WEAK}}$

c. * Jui-zaai.
yes-she$_{\text{STRONG}}$

d. * Jui Marie.
yes Mary

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

This example shows that the only subject element that can be added to *jou* 'yes' is a clitic pronoun. Weak pronouns, strong pronouns, and proper names are excluded in this construction.[5]

A third restriction on the subject element found in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' concerns the fact that pronominal doubling is disallowed in this construction. This is exemplified in (7).

(7) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: a. Jui-s.
yes-she$_{CLITIC}$
b. * Jui-se-zaai.
yes-she$_{CLITIC}$-she$_{STRONG}$
'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The example in (7) illustrates that while a subject clitic can occur on its own in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', it cannot be accompanied by a doubling strong pronoun.

Summing up, then, the data presented earlier show that there are severe restrictions on the subject element following the polarity marker in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no': it has to be coreferential with the subject of the preceding yes/no-question, it has to be a clitic, and it cannot be doubled.

15.2.3 *There*-Expletives

The dialogue in (8) illustrates what happens to conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' when the yes/no-question that acts as their antecedent contains a *there*-expletive.

(8) A: Komt er iemand mergen?
comes there someone tomorrow
B: a. Jui-t.
yes-it
b. * Jui-r.
yes-there
'A: Is someone coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

As indicated by the grammaticality judgment of B's replies, the expletive pronoun *er* 'there' cannot occur to the right of the polarity element *jou* 'yes' (and similarly for *nieje* 'no'). Instead, the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it' is used in this case. This seems to suggest that the structure that underlies conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', that is, the structure from which B's reply in (8)Ba is derived, does not contain a *there*-expletive. This is further confirmed by (9) and (10).

(9) Kpeize da-n ter twee venten in den hof staa-n.
I.think that-PL there two men in the garden stand-PL
'I think that there are two men standing in the garden.' [Waregem Dutch]

(10) A: Staan ter twee venten in den hof?
stand$_{PL}$ there two men in the garden
B: a. Ja-t.
yes-it
b. * Ja-n.
yes-PL

c. * Ja-n-t.
yes-PL- it
d. * Ja-n-r.
yes-PL-there
e. * Ja-n-s.
yes-PL-they
'A: Are there two men standing in the garden? B: Yes.' [Waregem Dutch]

Recall from section 15.1 that in the dialect of Waregem, the polarity markers 'yes' and 'no' can be combined not only with subject clitics but also with the agreement ending *n* that is typically found in cases of complementizer agreement. As (9) illustrates, this suffix also shows up when an expletive construction is embedded below the complementizer *da* 'that'. In this example, the complementizer agrees with the embedded associate DP *twee venten* 'two men'. This predicts that in the dialect of Waregem, the agreement-*n* should be able to show up attached to *ja* 'yes' when the antecedent clause is a yes/no-question that contains a *there*-expletive with a plural associate DP. As shown in (10), this prediction is not borne out. The only possible reply to A's question is the one in (10)Ba, where the sole element following *ja* 'yes' is the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it'. The plural agreement ending *n* is disallowed, regardless of whether it occurs on its own (10)Bb or is followed by *'t* 'it' (10)Bc, by *er* 'there' (10)Bd, or even by *s* 'they' (10)Be.[6] This further confirms that whatever syntactic structure underlies conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', it does not contain a *there*-expletive.

15.2.4 Object Clitics

Not only can the SDR-dialects discussed here contain a wide range of subject clitics; direct objects can also occur in the form of a clitic pronoun. It seems reasonable to ask, then, whether in addition to subject clitics, object clitics are also allowed to occur to the right of 'yes' and 'no'. As Smessaert (1995:48) has already pointed out, this is not the case. Consider (11).

(11) A: Ei-s-n gezien?
has-she$_{\text{SUBJ.CLITIC}}$-him$_{\text{OBJ.CLITIC}}$ seen
B: a. Jui-s.
yes-she$_{\text{SUBJ.CLITIC}}$
b. * Jui-s-n.
yes-she$_{\text{SUBJ.CLITIC}}$-him$_{\text{OBJ.CLITIC}}$
'A: Has she seen him? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

As shown by A's question in this dialogue, a subject clitic and an object clitic can perfectly well co-occur to the right of a fronted finite verb (and similarly for the complementizer *da* 'that' in embedded clauses). In conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', however, object clitics are systematically excluded.

15.2.5 The Use of *'T* 'It' in Conjugated Instances of 'Yes' and 'No'

A final point I want to make about conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' concerns the question of what happens when the system starts to decay, that is, when the construction is dying out. As Paardekooper (1993) has already pointed out, in such cases very often the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it' starts to take over the role of all the other subject pronouns. This is corroborated by the fieldwork carried out in the context of the SAND project. The only forms still used in this stage are *ja't* 'yes.it' and *nee't* 'no.it', and they are used regardless of what the subject of the preceding yes/no-question looks like. Consider in this respect a representative example from the dialect of Moerzeke.

(12) A: Ein ze gegeten?
 have they eaten

 B: Ja-t.
 yes-it$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

 'A: Have they eaten? B: Yes.' [Moerzeke Dutch]

In this dialogue, speaker B replies to A's question by means of a combination of the polarity element *ja* 'yes' and the third person singular neuter clitic *'t* 'it', notwithstanding the fact that the subject in A's question is the third person plural pronoun *ze* 'they'. This illustrates that in this dialect, the use of *'t* 'it' is gaining ground at the expense of the other subject clitics.

15.2.6 Data Summary: Conjugated 'Yes' and 'No' versus SDRs

In the preceding four sections, I have presented a number of empirical generalizations concerning conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Most of these observations took the form of restrictions on various aspects of this construction. For example, the only elements that can be combined with 'yes' and 'no' (apart from an agreement ending in the complementizer agreement dialects) are subject clitics that are coreferential with the subject of the preceding yes/no-question. Moreover, *there*-expletives are systematically excluded from the subject position of this construction, as is agreement with an elided associate DP. Table 15.1 summarizes these findings and indicates how SDRs behave with respect to each of these criteria.

The data presented table 15.1 show a substantial number of similarities between conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' on the one hand and SDRs on the other, as well as a few noticeable differences between the two. In what follows, I briefly discuss each of these characteristics in turn, and I point out their relevance for the analysis of conjugated 'yes' and 'no', which I present in the next section.

The first six properties listed in the table all pertain to the subject found in these two constructions. Conjugated instances of 'yes'/'no' and SDRs pattern alike in that their subject has to be a deficient (i.e. weak or clitic) pronoun coreferential with the

TABLE 15.1. Comparison of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' and SDRs

	Conjugated 'yes'/'no'	*SDRs*
Subject coreferential with preceding subject	Obligatory	Obligatory
Clitic as subject	✓	*
Weak pronoun as subject	*	✓
Strong pronoun as subject	*	*
Proper name as subject	*	*
Subject doubling	*	%
There-expletive as subject	*	*
Subject used in reply to *there*-expletives	*'t* 'it'	*'t* 'it'
Agreement with elided associate DP	*	*
Object clitics	*	*
'T 'it' as a subject gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns	Yes	Yes

subject of the antecedent clause. Strong pronouns, proper names, and full DPs are excluded. Recall from chapter 13 that the absence of nondeficient subjects in SDRs is due partly to the obligatory topic interpretation of the subject and partly to the fact that it is base-generated in specAgr$_S$P. Given that the same restrictions apply to the subject that shows up in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', it seems reasonable to assume that in this case, too, the subject is base-generated in specAgr$_S$P. However, the table also shows that the parallelism is not absolute. While in SDRs the subject is a weak pronoun, in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' it is a clitic. Moreover, in some dialects pronominal subject doubling is allowed in SDRs, whereas it is categorically excluded by all speakers in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. The analysis I will present will have to provide enough room to allow for this variation.

The next three characteristics in table 15.1 all involve the behavior of *there*-expletive constructions. The judgments reported in these three rows are without doubt the most striking points of similarity between conjugated 'yes'/'no' and SDRs. Neither of the two constructions allows *er* 'there' in their subject position, both resort to *'t* 'it' as a 'substitute subject', and neither allows for agreement with the elided associate DP. When discussing these data with respect to SDRs in chapter 11, I took them as prime evidence that the ellipsis site in this construction is not a full-fledged yet PF-deleted syntactic structure but rather a null, structureless proform that pronominalizes a large part of the extended verbal projection. Given that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' pattern exactly alike with respect to precisely these criteria, the same conclusion seems warranted; that is, conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' contain a null, structureless proform that pronominalizes a large part of the extended verbal projection.

This conclusion is corroborated by the absence of object clitics. Recall from chapter 11 that SDRs cannot be combined with object clitics either. Consider again an illustration of this in (13).

(13) A: Marie eit-n gezien.
Mary has.him$_{\text{OBJ.CLITIC}}$ seen
B: a. Z'en duut.
she.NEG does
b. * Z'en duut-n.
she.NEG does-him$_{\text{OBJ.CLITIC}}$
'A: Mary has seen him. B: No, she hasn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

This example shows that SDRs cannot co-occur with object clitics, not even if the antecedent clause contains one. This follows naturally from the assumption that the ellipsis site in this construction contains a null structureless proform. In the same way that an object cannot be moved out of the ellipsis site by means of wh-movement or by whatever movement operation is responsible for pseudogapping (see chapter 11, sections 11.2.8 and 11.2.9), it cannot be moved out by clitic movement either. Once again, the fact that a similar restriction applies to conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' further strengthens the hypothesis that this construction contains such a proform as well.

The final point that table 15.1 illustrates concerns the fact that SDRs and conjugated 'yes' and 'no' not only pattern alike with respect to a number of criteria but also seem to be evolving in the same general direction. In both cases, the use of *'t* 'it' as a subject is gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns. Recall from chapter 13 that I related this evolution to the fact that the SDR-subject is base-generated in the specifier position of Agr_SP. Given that merging an *it*-expletive in this position is a less marked operation than merging a fully specified personal pronoun there, it is the former option that is targeted by processes of diachronic change. The fact that conjugated 'yes' and 'no' once again pattern the same is a further indication that their subject is base-generated in specAgr_SP as well.

Summing up, the data presented in table 15.1 lend considerable credibility to the hypothesis that the structure that underlies conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' bears a very close resemblance to that from which SDRs are derived. I will take this assumption as a starting point for my analysis in the next section.

15.3 The Analysis

15.3.1 Introduction

In the following sections, I present my analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Given that the argument will be fairly elaborate and will require several detours into apparently unrelated phenomena, I will use this introductory section to sketch the basic outlines of what follows. In section 15.3.2, I show that an analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' based solely on the assumptions introduced in

the preceding sections and chapters immediately encounters two substantial problems. First, such an account vastly overgenerates; second, it leads to a licensing violation of the null TP-proform. I will argue that both these problems can be successfully avoided under the assumption that Agr_SP is PF-deleted in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. With this much as background, I turn to the actual analysis in section 15.3.3, where I contrast the presence of subject clitics and agreement endings on 'yes' and 'no' with their absence on sluiced wh-phrases. I argue that this discrepancy is the result of the interplay between the structural position occupied by the subject in the elided Agr_SP (section 15.3.3.2) and locality restrictions on complementizer agreement and subject clitic placement (section 15.3.3.3). Moreover, in section 15.3.3.4, I briefly discuss two previous accounts for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases. Section 15.3.4 sums up and concludes.

15.3.2 Two Preliminary Problems

The clitics and agreement endings that show up in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' are identical to those found on the complementizer in the dialects I am considering. Consider (14)–(17).

(14) A: Kom Jef mergen?
comes Jeff tomorrow
B: Jo-n.
yes-he$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
'A: Is Jeff coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(15) Ik paus dat-n mergen komt.
I think that-he$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ tomorrow comes
'I think he is coming tomorrow.' [Wambeek Dutch]

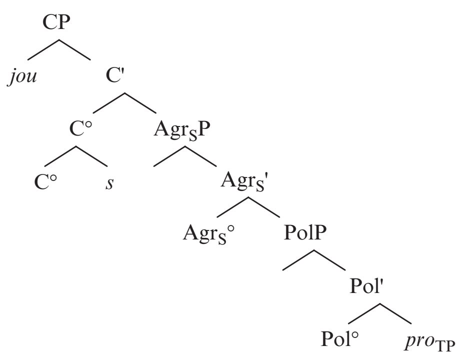
(16) A: Èèn Piet en Jan gewonnen?
have Pete and John won
B: Ja-n-s.
yes.PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
'A: Have Pete and John won? B: Yes.' [Waregem Dutch]

(17) Kpeize da-n Piet en Jan gewonnen èèn.
I.think that-PL Pete and John won have
'I think Pete and John have won.' [Waregem Dutch]

The examples in (14) and (15) illustrate that the subject clitic that shows up in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is identical to the clitic pronoun that is right-adjoined to the complementizer in embedded clauses. The pair in (16)–(17) shows that the same holds for the agreement endings occurring in conjugated 'yes' and 'no'. These correlations render more plausible the assumption that the polarity

elements 'yes' and 'no' are base-generated in specCP (see chapter 13, section 13.3). Accordingly, I will take this hypothesis as the starting point for my analysis of this construction. When combined with the assumption introduced earlier that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' contain the same null proform as SDRs, this yields the preliminary structure in (19) for B's reply in (18).[7]

(18) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow
B: Jui-s.
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(19)


In this tree structure, I have simply put together the assumption that *jou* 'yes' occupies specCP with the structure for SDRs proposed in chapter 13. A null proform is merged with a Pol°-head to form the high PolP, which is dominated by Agr$_S$P and by CP.[8] As it stands, this structure immediately raises two sets of questions: one pertaining to the licensing requirements of the null pronominal, and the other to the lexical content of the projections dominated by CP. I start by discussing the latter.

Recall from the preceding sections that only a very limited set of lexical items can be combined with *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Only subject clitics coreferential with the subject of the preceding yes/no-question and—in some dialects—a plural agreement suffix are allowed to occur in this construction. However, at present it is unclear how this follows from the structure in (19). Given that it contains a full-fledged Agr$_S$P, it should be possible—presumably even obligatory, given the EPP-requirement of Agr$_S$°—to merge a weak subject pronoun or even a doubling strong pronoun in the specifier position of this projection. More generally, the tree structure in (19) leads one to expect that many more elements can be overtly realized to the right of the polarity marker. For example, the head of the PolP could (and should, see the second problem below) be spelled out as the negative clitic *en,* and it could trigger *do*-support. Moreover, as I have shown in the preceding chapters, the specifier of this projection can be overtly realized as *nie* 'not', *wel* 'AFF', or even *jawel* 'yes.AFF'. Moving on to Agr$_S$P, not only

should it be possible to merge a weak subject pronoun in its specifier but also in the analysis of *da's nie/(ja)wel* I have argued that the phi-features of its head can trigger the insertion of *zijn* 'be'. However, as (20) show, none of these options is available.[9]

(20) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: a. Nieje-s.
no-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

b. * Nieje-s nie.
no-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ not

c. * Nieje-s en duu (nie).
no-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ NEG does not

d. * Nieje-s (en) is (nie).
no-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ NEG is not

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: No.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The first problem with the preliminary structure in (19), then, is that it vastly overgenerates, that is, it incorrectly predicts the occurrence—or at least the potential occurrence—of many elements that are not found in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'.

The second problem raised by this account concerns the licensing requirements of the null TP-proform in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Consider (21).

(21) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: a. Jou, Marie kom mergen.
yes Mary comes tomorrow

b. * Toch wel, Marie kom wel mergen.
PRT AFF Mary comes AFF tomorrow

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes, Mary is coming tomorrow.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, B reacts to A's yes/no-question with a full clausal, nonconjugated affirmative reply.[10] As the contrast between (21)Ba and (21)Bb shows, the affirmative adverb *wel* 'AFF' is strongly disallowed in these kinds of replies. This is not surprising, given that—as I have shown—this element is only used in contexts of *emphatic* affirmation, a reading that is clearly absent in (21). In order to capture *wel*'s restriction to emphatic readings, I assumed in chapter 12 that this adverb is the spell-out of a specPolP that is [+F]-marked. What the examples in (21) show, then, is that in replies to yes/no-questions, [+F]-marking on PolP is not allowed. This creates a new problem for the tree structure in (19). Recall that one of the crucial ingredients for the licensing requirements of the SDR-proform is the assumption that the head of the high PolP is [+F]-marked. If [+F]-marking on PolP is disallowed in replies to yes/no-questions (see (21)), then the conclusion seems to be that pro_{TP} in (19) is not properly licensed and that as a result, this structure should be ruled out.

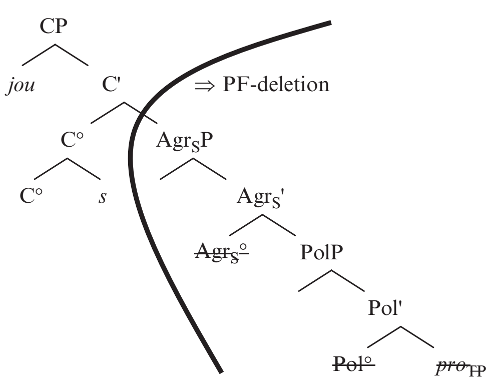
Summing up, even though the tree structure in (19) combines two assumptions for which I have provided empirical support in the preceding sections and chapters, it immediately raises two nontrivial problems. First, it vastly overgenerates, and second, it fails to properly license the null TP-proform. I suggest that both these problems can be solved under the assumption that in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', Agr_SP is PF-deleted. The structure in (23) illustrates this for B's reply in (18) (repeated).

(22) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: Jui-s.
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(23)



It is clear that the ellipsis process proposed here immediately accounts for the overgeneration problem. The reason no Agr_SP- or PolP-related material shows up in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is that both these projections are contained in the ellipsis site. The second issue requires a bit more discussion. I will argue that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' provide yet another instantiation of a repair effect induced by ellipsis (see Merchant 2008b:152–153 for a brief overview, and for discussion see also the first case study in part I here). That is, the null TP-proform is indeed not properly licensed in the structure in (23), but since the offending configuration is deleted at PF, the derivation nonetheless converges. Clearly, for this line of reasoning to go through, the violation induced by the lack of *pro*-licensing has to be one that is operative at Phonological Form. I now turn to this issue.

In "historical" terms, what I have been calling the licensing requirement of the null proform is the requirement that *pro* be properly head-governed. Interestingly, many researchers have argued that this is a principle of *overt* syntax and, accordingly, that it has to apply at S-structure or at PF (see for example Aoun et al. 1987, Chung 1998:276–322, Rizzi 1990:39). This is not altogether surprising, given the fact that this requirement is sensitive to whether or not a category has phonetic

content, that is, null proforms are subject to different restrictions from their overt counterparts. Note that this is a distinction that is assumed not to play a role in the derivation from Spell-Out to LF. With the minimalist elimination of S-structure as an independent level of representation, it seems reasonable to assume, then, that the proper head-government requirement on *pro* applies at PF. However, if this is the case, then violations of this principle should cause a derivation to crash at this interface as well. Moreover, PF-deleting the offending structure should be sufficient to rescue an otherwise nonconverging derivation. This is also precisely the tack taken by Merchant (2003). He argues that comparative constructions in English that have undergone subject-auxiliary inversion obligatorily display VP-ellipsis because this ellipsis process is needed to PF-delete a nonproperly head-governed trace. Although I will not go very deeply into the technical details of his account, it is worth highlighting its main points here, as they are very similar to the analysis outlined earlier for conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Consider first (24).

(24) a. Abby can play more instruments than her father can play.
b. Abby can play more instruments than her father can [*e*].
c. *Abby can play more instruments than can her father play.
d. Abby can play more instruments than can her father [*e*].

What these examples illustrate is that whereas normally VP-ellipsis is optional in comparative constructions (see (24)a–b), it becomes obligatory once subject-auxiliary inversion has taken place (see (24)c–d). Merchant takes this as an indication that ellipsis is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate configuration. In order to see which principle is violated in (24)c, consider a partial structural representation of this sentence in (25).

(25) . . . than [$_{CP}$ *Op*$_i$ can [$_{IP}$ her father t_{can} [$_{VP}$ t_i' [$_{VP}$ t_{SUBJ} play t_i]]]]

The problem is with t_i', that is, the intermediate, VP-adjoined trace of the comparative operator *Op* that has fronted to specCP. Under the assumption—discussed at length by Merchant—that the trace of the fronted auxiliary *can* in I° is unable to properly head-govern this intermediate trace, the structure in (25) represents an ECP-violation and hence is ruled out. One way to rescue this derivation, however, is by PF-deleting the VP, that is, by VP-ellipsis. This is shown in (26).

(26) . . . than [$_{CP}$ *Op*$_i$ can [$_{IP}$ her father t_{can} ~~[$_{VP}$ t_i' [$_{VP}$ t_{SUBJ} play t_i]]~~]]

In (26), the offending, nonproperly governed trace t_i' has been PF-deleted. Given that the ECP applies at PF, this ellipsis operation suffices to let the derivation converge. (For a more elaborate technical discussion of this analysis, see the original article.)[11]

Returning to conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', it is clear that the licensing problem I discussed in the beginning of this section is very similar to the one represented in (25). In both cases, a null element (a trace in (25), a null pronominal in conjugated 'yes' and 'no') fails to be properly licensed. The solution I propose is

essentially the same as the one outlined in (26); that is, the structure containing the offending null category is deleted at PF. Note that this explains not only why Agr$_S$P is deleted in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' but also why this ellipsis operation is obligatory: it is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate PF-configuration.

One aspect of this account still needs further discussion. Note that in (24)d, the grammar resorts to an ellipsis operation, that is, VP-ellipsis, that is attested independently of comparative constructions. This is a desirable result. Ellipsis can only target a limited, very specific set of projections, and it cannot be tailor-made to repair illegitimate derivations wherever they occur. This means that the deletion of Agr$_S$P represented in (23) should have some validity outside the realm of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' as well. I suggest that this ellipsis operation is an instance of the more general process by means of which the complement of polarity markers such as 'yes' and 'no' can be deleted. Consider the standard Dutch examples in (27).

(27) A: Komt Ed?
     comes Ed
  B: a. Ja, Ed komt.
     yes Ed comes
   b. Ja, ~~Ed~~ ~~komt.~~
     yes Ed comes
  'A: Is Ed coming? B: Yes(, Ed is coming).' [Dutch]

This dialogue illustrates the well-known fact that polarity elements such as 'yes' and 'no' can optionally be accompanied by a full clausal reply. I suggest that when they occur on their own (as in (27)Bb), the complement of the C°-head whose specifier they occupy (i.e. Agr$_S$P) has been PF-deleted.[12] This means that the ellipsis operation exemplified in (27)Bb is exactly the same as the one represented in the tree structure in (23).[13] The only difference is that in the case of conjugated 'yes' and 'no', the deletion is obligatory.

The background for the analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is now firmly in place. I have argued that in this construction, the entire Agr$_S$P has been PF-deleted and that this ellipsis operation explains why no Agr$_S$P- or PolP-internal material can surface to the right of *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no'. In other words, so far I have provided an account for those elements that can*not* occur in this construction. In the next section I turn to the elements that *can,* that is, subject clitics and agreement suffixes.

15.3.3 The Actual Analysis: Conjugated 'Yes' and 'No' versus Sluicing

15.3.3.1 The Proposal in a Nutshell

Consider again a representative example of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' in (28).

(28) A: Èè-n ze gewonnen?
have-PL they won

B: Ja-n-s.
yes-PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

'A: Have they won? B: Yes.' [Waregem Dutch]

The question of how to analyze B's reply acquires an interesting extra dimension in light of data such as those in (29).

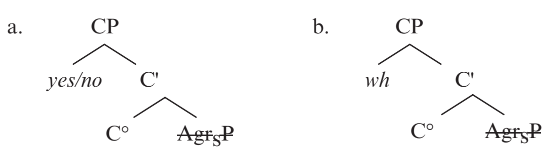
(29) Z'èèn iemand ezien,
they.have someone seen,

a. maar k'en wee nie wie.
but I.NEG know not who

b. * maar k'en wee nie wie-n-s
but I.NEG know not who-PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

'They saw someone, but I don't know who.' [Waregem Dutch]

These examples show that sluiced wh-phrases cannot be combined with subject clitics or with complementizer agreement, not even in the dialects that do allow these phenomena to show up in nonelliptical clauses (see Lobeck 1995:58–60, Merchant 2001:72–74). In light of the preceding discussion, the discrepancy between (28) and (29) is unexpected. To see why this is so, consider the partial and schematic tree structures in (30).[14]

(30)


Under the assumptions adopted so far, the basic analyses of sluicing and conjugated 'yes' and 'no' display a number of similarities. In both cases, the complement of the C°-head whose specifier is occupied by the central element of the construction (the wh-phrase in sluicing, the polarity marker in conjugated 'yes' and 'no') has been PF-deleted. From this viewpoint, the difference in judgments between (28)–(29) requires an explanation. I will take this discrepancy as a starting point for my analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'.

I suggest that the crucial factor distinguishing the two structures in (30) is the position in which the (unpronounced) subject is situated. Recall that I argued at length in chapter 13 that in dialect Dutch SDRs, the subject is merged directly in specAgr$_S$P. Given that I have taken as a cornerstone for my analysis of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' the assumption that this construction is derived from the same syntactic structure as SDRs, this conclusion also holds for the structure in (30)a.

In the representation in (30)b, however, the subject is arguably base-generated in specVP. Moreover, Merchant (2001:185–193) argues that when the IP is sluiced, the subject stays in this low position until it is covertly raised to specIP at LF (see also Van Craenenbroeck and Den Dikken 2006 for related discussion). This, I argue, is the key to understanding why conjugated ‘yes’ and ‘no’ are compatible with subject clitics and complementizer agreement, but sluicing is not. In a nutshell, I will show that both clitic movement and complementizer agreement are subject to very stringent locality requirements. Given that in sluicing the subject remains in specVP, it cannot meet those requirements, and clitics and agreement endings are disallowed. In conjugated ‘yes’ and ‘no’, however, the subject is always merged locally, and as a result, clitics and agreement can freely show up. In order for this line of reasoning to go through, two premises need to be established. First, I have to show that the two structures in (30) differ with respect to the structural position occupied by the (unpronounced) subject, and second, I have to demonstrate that complementizer agreement and clitic placement are subject to locality restrictions. I take up these two issues in the following two sections.

15.3.3.2 The Structural Position Occupied by Subjects in Sluiced IPs

Since I argued at length in chapter 13 for the assumption that the subject in SDRs—and by extension in conjugated instances of ‘yes’ and ‘no’—is base-generated in specAgr$_S$P, in this section I only focus on the structural position occupied by subjects in sluiced IPs. In particular, I will introduce Merchant’s (2001) proposal and discuss a potential counterargument that Lasnik and Park (2003) have raised against it.

In his discussion of the position occupied by subjects in clauses that have undergone sluicing, Merchant (2001) starts out from the observation that sluicing can rescue otherwise illicit instances of movement out of subject islands. Consider (31) (Merchant 2001:185).

(31) a. A biography of one of the Marx brothers will appear this year—guess which!
b. *Which Marx brother did she say that [a biography of *t*] will appear this year?

The example in (31)b shows that in English, subextracting a wh-phrase (in this case *which Marx brother*) out of a DP-subject results in ungrammaticality. In (31)a, the same movement operation takes place, but the IP out of which the wh-phrase is extracted is PF-deleted as a result of sluicing. Given that the resulting sentence is perfectly well formed, it appears that sluicing (or more generally, ellipsis) can void a violation of the subject island constraint. Merchant argues that the reason the example in (31)a is grammatical is that the wh-phrase is extracted from the subject while the latter is still in its base position in specVP. That is, the structure of the ellipsis site in (31)a is not the one in (32)a but rather the one in (32)b.

(32) a. . . . which$_k$ ~~[$_{IP}$ [a biography of t$_k$]$_i$ will [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ appear this year]]~~
b. . . . which$_k$ ~~[$_{IP}$ ___ will [$_{VP}$ [a biography of t$_k$] appear this year]]~~

The subject island constraint is often analyzed as a subcase of the ban on extraction from ‘derived positions’; that is, it is not allowed to extract a phrase from a larger phrase that has been moved as well (see e.g. Stepanov 2001 for discussion and references). This predicts that subextraction out of a subject should be allowed, provided the movement proceeds from its base position, that is, specVP. This prediction is confirmed by data such as those in (33), (34) (both from Merchant 2001:187), and (35).

(33) a. * Which candidate were [posters of *t*] all over town?
b. Which candidate were there [posters of *t*] all over town?

(34) a. * Which candidate did they say that [to get *t* to agree to a debate] was hard?
b. Which candidate did they say that it was hard [to get *t* to agree to a debate]?

(35) a. * Wat waren [*t* voor mensen] op het feest?
what were for people at the party
b. Wat waren er [*t* voor mensen] op het feest?
what were there for people at the party
‘What kind of people were there at the party?’ [Dutch]

In (33)b, (34)b, and (35)b, the insertion of an expletive in specIP allows the subject to stay in its base position in specVP. As the contrast between (33)a–(35)a and (33)b–(35)b shows, subextraction out of a subject-DP is prohibited from its derived position (specIP) but allowed from its base position (specVP). Merchant suggests, then, that the reason for the well-formedness of (31)a is essentially the same as that in (33)b, (34)b, and (35)b. Extraction out of a subject elided by sluicing does not yield a violation of the subject island constraint because the movement operation proceeds from a nonderived position of the subject. An immediate question this account raises is why the overt counterpart of the structure in (32)b is not grammatical. Consider (36) (Merchant 2001:187).

(36) * (Guess) [which Marx brother]$_k$ [$_{IP}$ ___ will [$_{VP}$ [a biography of t_k] appear this year]]?

The standard explanation for the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (36) is that the EPP has been violated. This principle states that the specifier position of IP has to be overtly realized (see Lasnik 2001a for discussion). It seems reasonable to assume that this is a requirement that is evaluated at the PF-interface, that is, that it is essentially a PF-requirement (see for example Bobaljik 2002). If that is the case, then violations of this principle should be repairable at PF as well. Specifically, if an IP with an unchecked EPP-feature were to be deleted at PF, the resulting derivation should converge at this interface. This is precisely what happens in the example in (31)a/(32)b. This means that sluicing does not repair subject island violations per se. Rather, it allows the subject to stay in its VP-internal base position by deleting the offending EPP-feature. Given that subextraction out of ‘low’ subjects is licit, it appears that the subject condition is violated under sluicing.[15]

Before returning to the main line of argumentation (i.e. the analysis of conjugated instances of ‘yes’ and ‘no’), I will point out an important consequence of Merchant’s analysis, as well as an objection raised against it by Lasnik and Park (2003). The proposal that the subject of a sluiced IP remains in specVP might lead one to expect that it obligatorily takes narrow scope. As (37) (Merchant 2001:189) shows, this is not the case.

(37) a. Five pictures of one of the victims weren’t distributed to the press, but I can’t remember which one$_i$ ~~[$_{IP}$ ___ weren’t [$_{VP}$ distributed [five pictures of t_i] to the press]]~~ ($\exists > \neg$, $\neg > \exists$)

b. [Every soldier from one of the airborne battalions]$_i$ seemed to his$_i$ commander to be sick, but I don’t know (from) which (battalion)$_k$ ~~[$_{IP}$ ___ seemed to his$_j$ commander [$_{IP}$ ___ to be [[every soldier (from) t_k]$_j$ sick]]]~~

In (37)a, the elided subject *five pictures of* t_i can take scope either above or below negation. However, if this DP remained in specVP throughout the entire derivation, only the latter option should be available. A similar line of reasoning applies to (37)b. In order for the elided possessive pronoun *his*$_j$ to be interpreted as a bound variable, the embedded subject *every soldier (from)* t_k has to raise to the subject position of the matrix verb *seemed,* from where it can c-command this pronoun. In light of these data, Merchant proposes that the subject of a sluiced IP undergoes covert phrasal A-movement at LF. That is, the ellipsis process that PF-deletes the IP allows the subject to remain in its base position up until the moment at which the derivation branches off to PF. At LF, however, feature checking requirements force it to move to specIP.

The idea that covert phrasal A-movement exists is contested by Lasnik and Park (2003). Given that this leads them to conclude that subjects in sluiced IPs do not remain in specVP but rather move to specIP, it is important in light of this discussion that I tackle their objection. Consider (38) (Lasnik and Park 2003:652) and (39) (Lasnik 2001b:112).

(38) a. The DA made every defendant$_i$ out to be guilty during his$_i$ trial.
b. * The DA made out every defendant$_i$ to be guilty during his$_i$ trial.

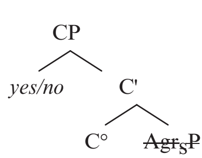
(39) a. Mary made John out to be a fool.
b. Mary made out John to be a fool.

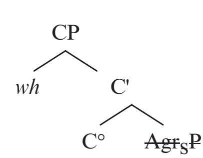
Lasnik and Park’s argument goes as follows. Johnson (1991) and Lasnik (2001b) have shown that the word order exemplified in (38)a, where the embedded subject *every defendant* surfaces to the left of the particle *out,* is the result of overt object shift, that is, A-movement of the embedded subject into the specifier position of the matrix Agr$_O$P. That this DP indeed occupies a position in the matrix clause is corroborated by the fact that it can bind the pronoun *his* in the matrix VP-adjunct *during his trial.* The (38)b, however, shows that when the embedded subject occurs

to the right of the particle *out,* it cannot bind into a matrix adjunct. This leads Lasnik (2001b) to conclude that although object shift is normally optional in English (see the pair in (39)), an embedded subject can take scope into the matrix clause only from its shifted position. However, suppose that the DP *every defendant* in (38)b could also undergo covert phrasal A-movement. Then it should be able raise to the matrix specAgr$_{O}$P at LF, and the contrast between (38)a and (38)b should cease to exist. Given that this is not the case, Lasnik and Park (2003) conclude that there is no such thing as covert phrasal A-movement, and that subjects in sluiced IPs raise out of the VP into specIP, in the same way that their nonelided counterparts do.

The key to reconciling (38) and (39) with Merchant's account of subjects in sluiced IPs is to consider the way Lasnik (2001b) analyzes the optionality of English object shift. Reconsider (39). If the variability in word order in these sentences is indeed the result of object shift applying in (39)a but not in (39)b, then it appears that this operation is optional. Given that the theoretical framework of the Minimalist Program does not allow for optionality, Lasnik suggests that the difference between (39)a and (39b) boils down to whether or not the matrix clause contains an Agr$_{O}$P. In so doing, he follows up on a suggestion by Chomsky that "if Agr has no strong feature, then PF considerations, at least, give no reason for it to be present at all, and LF considerations do not seem relevant" (1995:350). Lasnik concludes, then, "that the optionality of raising is the optionality of Agr$_{o}$" (2001b:119). This implies that for covert object shift to apply in an example like (38)b or (39b), an Agr$_{O}$°-head would have to be merged into the extended verbal projection of the matrix clause *after* the derivation has branched off to PF, that is, in 'covert syntax'. Not only is such a merger in violation of the Strict Cycle Condition; it is also unclear why an Agr°-head—which has no relevance for LF (as Chomsky's statement indicates)—would be merged in a part of the derivation leading exclusively to LF. The conclusion seems to be, then, that the reason no covert phrasal A-movement takes place in (38)b or (39)b is that there is neither a trigger nor a landing site for such a movement.[16] This means that the data in (38) are not to be taken as counterevidence against Merchant's account of subjects in sluiced IPs.

The first premise for my analysis of the discrepancy between sluiced wh-phrases and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is now in place. I have argued that the two structures in (30) (repeated in(40)) differ with respect to the structural position occupied by the subject inside the elided Agr$_{S}$P. In the next section, I show that both complementizer agreement and clitic placement are sensitive to such differences in locality.

(40) a.


b.


15.3.3.3 Locality Restrictions on Complementizer Agreement and Clitic Placement

In this section, I show that both complementizer agreement and subject clitics only show up when the subject occupies the highest available subject position. Combined with the conclusion I reached in the preceding section, this will allow for a straightforward account for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases and their presence on 'yes' and 'no'. It is not my intention here to provide an in-depth analysis of complementizer agreement and/or subject clitic placement in Dutch dialects (though see section 15.3.3.4 for some relevant remarks). Given that such an analysis would be orthogonal to the argument developed here, I will refrain from making any commitments. (The reader may consult the relevant literature.)

The claim that complementizer agreement is subject to some form of locality is not at all new or controversial. Several authors have recently shown that in order for an agreement ending to occur on a complementizer, it has to be very local to the embedded subject (see Ackema and Neeleman 2001, Carstens 2003, Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen 2002a, 2003). Consider in this respect (41) (Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen 2003:67).[17]

(41) a. … darr-e wiej allichte de wedstrijd winne zölt.
that$_{C^\circ}$-PL we probably the game win will

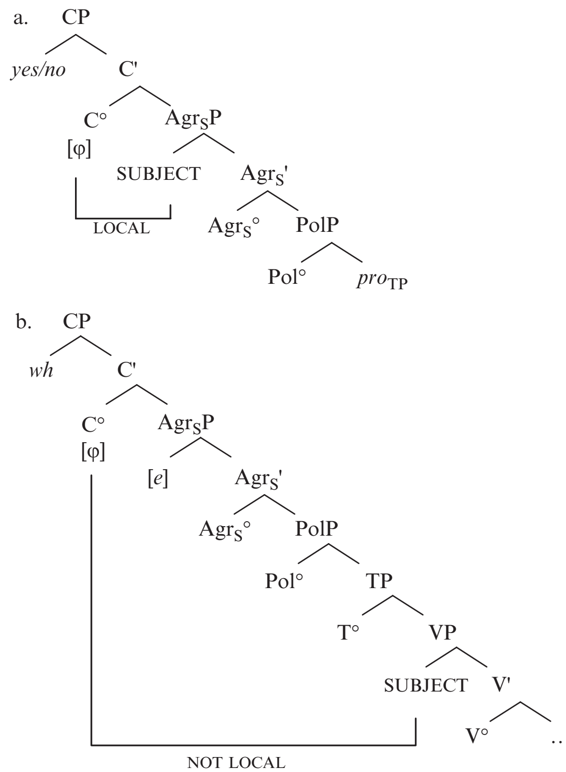
b. * … darr-e allichte wiej de wedstrijd winne zölt.
that$_{C^\circ}$-PL probably we the game win will

c. … dat allichte wiej de wedstrijd winne zölt.
that$_{C^\circ}$ probably we the game win will

'… that we will probably win the game.' [Hellendoorn Dutch]

The example in (41)a shows that the dialect of Hellendoorn displays complementizer agreement when the subject is first person plural. In this clause, the complementizer does not occur in its bare, uninflected form (i.e. as *dat*) but rather with a plural agreement suffix *e* attached to it.[18] As illustrated in (41)b, this ending is disallowed when an adverb intervenes between the complementizer and the subject; in this case, the bare form of the complementizer is used instead (see (41)c). Although the precise analysis of these data is still very much an open question (see the references mentioned earlier for various approaches), it is clear that complementizer agreement is subject to very stringent locality requirements, stricter even than those imposed on A-dependencies between a verb or an inflectional head and a DP-argument. In light of (41), Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002a, 2003) suggest that in order for an agreement ending to appear on a complementizer, the subject it is agreeing with has to occupy the specifier position of its complement. With respect to the issue at hand, that is, the difference between sluicing and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', this generalization suffices to make the required distinction. Consider (42).

(42)



Recall that I established in the previous section that while the subject in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is base-generated in specAgr_SP, in sluiced IPs it remains in specVP until after Spell-Out. Given that I have just argued that the occurrence of an agreement suffix on C° is sensitive to precisely this kind of locality, it now follows straightforwardly that sluiced wh-phrases pattern differently from 'yes' and 'no' in this respect. In the sluicing example in (42)b, C° is not local enough to the embedded subject for an agreement ending to show up. In the structure in (42)a, though, the subject is invariably situated in the specifier position of C°'s complement, and hence an agreement suffix is allowed to occur in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'.

A similar line of reasoning applies to clitic placement. Consider (43).

(43) Ik paus dat-n aai gui kommen.
I think that-$\text{he}_{\text{CLITIC}}$ $\text{he}_{\text{STRONG}}$ goes come
'I think that he will come.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In (43), the third person singular masculine subject is spelled out twice: once as a clitic pronoun attached to the complementizer and once as a strong pronoun. Following Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002b), I assume that the strong

pronoun *aai* 'he' is the actual thematic subject of this clause. In other words, this DP is merged in specVP and moved to specIP. The clitic *n* 'he' is merely a secondary reflex of this subject (whose precise analysis I leave open here; see Haegeman 1992, Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen 2002b, 2002c, Zwart 1993b, 1997 for possible approaches).[19] Now consider from this perspective (44) and (45).

(44)	a.	Kem	goed	da	zaailn	gisteren	nie	wisten	wa	duun.
		I.have	heard	that	they$_{STRONG}$	yesterday	not	knew	what	do$_{INF}$
	b.	Kem	goed	da	gisteren	zaailn	nie	wisten	wa	duun.
		I.have	heard	that	yesterday	they$_{STRONG}$	not	knew	what	do$_{INF}$

'I heard they were bored yesterday.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(45)	a.	Kem	goed	da-se	zaailn	gisteren	nie	wisten	wa	duun.
		I.have	heard	that-they$_{CLITIC}$	they$_{STRONG}$	yesterday	not	knew	what	do$_{INF}$
	b. *	Kem	goed	da-se	gisteren	zaailn	nie	wisten	wa	duun.
		I.have	heard	that-they$_{CLITIC}$	yesterday	they$_{STRONG}$	not	knew	what	do$_{INF}$

'I heard they were bored yesterday.' [Wambeek Dutch]

As (44) shows, a strong subject pronoun such as *zaailn* 'they' can occur both before and after the adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday'. I assume that this variation in word order is due to the subject occupying different positions in each example. While *zaailn* 'they' is situated in the highest subject position available in (44)a, in (44)b it remains in a lower position. What (45) illustrates, then, is that when a strong pronoun is clitic-doubled, it obligatorily occupies the highest subject position. The only difference between (44) and (45) is that in (45), the subject clitic *se* 'they' is attached to the complementizer. As a result, the strong subject pronoun *zaailn* 'they' can no longer occur to the right of the temporal adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday'. More abstractly, these data show that the occurrence of subject clitics in the dialects I am considering is crucially dependent on the subject occupying the highest structural position available to it. In other words, subject clitic placement displays a locality restriction similar to the one described earlier for complementizer agreement. This means that the account developed earlier for the discrepancy between sluiced wh-phrases and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' applies here as well. In particular, subject clitics cannot occur on sluiced wh-phrases because the subject they are supposed to double does not occupy the highest subject position available. In conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', though, the subject is invariably base-generated in this position, and as a result, clitics are allowed to occur.

Summing up, in the previous two sections I have shown that the two premises on which I have based my account for the discrepancy between sluicing and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' are both well supported by the data. Before rounding off, I briefly consider two previous accounts for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases.

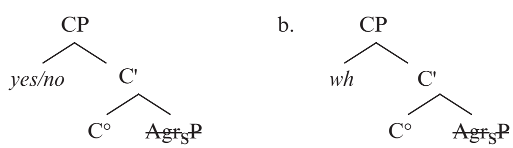
15.3.3.4 Previous Accounts: Lobeck (1995) and Merchant (2001)

As already mentioned, the fact that sluiced wh-phrases cannot be combined with subject clitics or agreement endings was first observed by Lobeck (1995) and later also discussed by Merchant (2001). In this section, I briefly go over the analyses they propose for this phenomenon, arguing that neither account is entirely satisfactory in light of the facts discussed earlier. Consider again (46), (47), and (48).

(46) A: Èè-n ze gewonnen?
have-PL they won
B: Ja-n-s.
yes-PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
'A: Have they won? B: Yes.' [Waregem Dutch]

(47) Z'èèn iemand ezien,
they.have someone seen,
a. maar k'en wee nie wie.
but I.NEG know not who
b. * maar k'en wee nie wie-n-s
but I.NEG know not who-PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
'They saw someone, but I don't know who.' [Waregem Dutch]

(48) a. b.



Lobeck (1995:58–60) presents examples comparable to (47) as prime evidence that the ellipsis site in sluicing constructions contains a null, structureless proform rather than a fully merged but PF-deleted syntactic structure. Her reasoning goes as follows. Complementizer agreement is the overt reflex of an agreement relation between C° and I°. Given that *pro* contains no internal structure, there is no I°-head present in sluicing examples like (47). Therefore, complementizer agreement cannot show up on sluiced wh-phrases. Moreover, this approach might arguably be able to account for the difference between (46)/(48)a and (47)/(48)b in terms of the size of the constituent that is pronominalized by the proform ($Agr_S P$ in sluicing, TP in conjugated 'yes' and 'no'). In light of the first case study in part I, it should be clear that Lobeck's account is not an option that is available to me. Recall that I argued in part I that substantial empirical evidence suggests that sluicing is the result of PF-deleting IP. Merchant, who reaches the same conclusion on independent grounds, also presents a series of arguments directed specifically against Lobeck's (1995) account for the absence of subject clitics and agreement suffixes on sluiced

wh-phrases (Merchant 2001:69–72; see the original work for details). This means that the explanation for the ungrammaticality of (47)b has to be sought elsewhere.

Merchant (2001:72–74) suggests such an alternative approach. Under a PF-deletion analysis of sluicing, the absence of IP-related material (such as clitics and agreement) on sluiced wh-phrases might be the result of the ordering of the operations involved. Assume that both clitic placement and complementizer agreement are the result of a reordering process roughly described as I°-to-C°-movement. If this movement operation were to take place at a point in the derivation later than the one where the PF-deletion of IP occurs, it would be bled by it. Put differently, at the point in the derivation where the clitic or the agreement ending is supposed to move to C°, the IP has already been deleted, and as a result, the movement can no longer take place. It is unclear whether this account can provide an explanation for the difference between sluicing and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. If PF-deletion of Agr_SP bleeds Agr_S°-to-C°-movement in the structure in (48)b, it should do so in (48) a as well. Moreover, closer inspection reveals that a central assumption Merchant adopted is in need of revision: the hypothesis that complementizer agreement is the result of I°-to-C°-movement. This approach is contested by many recent analyses of this phenomenon (see for example Ackema and Neeleman 2001, Carstens 2003, Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen 2002a, Van Koppen 2003). The consensus nowadays seems to be that complementizer agreement results from an Agree-relation between (the phi-features of) C° and (those of) the subject.[20] A strong indication that this is on the right track is provided by data such as those in (49) (Van Koppen 2003:4).[21]

(49) Ich dink de-s [doow en ich] ôs t beste veur
I think that-2SG you and I ourselves the best in.front.of
de kerk kenn-e treffe.
the church can-PL meet
'I think you and I should meet in front of the church.' [Tegelen Dutch]

As was first observed by Van Koppen (2003, 2005), the finite complementizer in a complementizer agreement dialect can agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. This shows that the ending that occurs on the complementizer is a reflex of a relation between C° and the subject (or a proper subpart thereof) rather than between C° and I°.[22] Note that in (49), the finite verb agrees with the entire coordinated subject (as does the anaphor *ôs* 'ourselves'). Given that the agreement suffix on the verb is generally assumed to be a reflection of the value of I° (or Agr_S° in my account), the second person singular *s*-ending on the complementizer cannot be due to a relation between C° and I°. On the other hand, the sentence in (49) also suggests that complementizer agreement is not the result of (feature-)movement. If the phi-features of the first conjunct of the subject were to move to C°, they would violate both the coordinate structure constraint and the subject island. Since this example is perfectly grammatical, it seems unlikely that this hypothetical movement operation has taken place. One is led to conclude, then, that complementizer agreement is the result of an Agree-relation between C° and (part of) the embedded subject. When combined with Merchant's account for the absence of complementizer agreement on

sluiced wh-phrases, this conclusion creates a problem. Specifically, while it might well be the case that the (im)possibility of a certain movement operation is influenced by the fact that (part of) the movement chain is left unpronounced (see also my first case study in part I, for discussion), it is unlikely that the same applies to Agree-relations. Consider in this respect the VP-ellipsis example in (50).

(50) I thought there would be many people at the party and there were ~~many people at the party~~.

In (50), the finite verb *were* in the second conjunct agrees in phi-features with the elided associate DP *many people*. The fact that this DP is left unpronounced does not block the Agree-relation. As a result, it is unlikely that the fact that IP is PF-deleted in sluicing constructions should prevent (the phi-features of) C° from Agree-ing with the (unpronounced) subject. In other words, under the assumption that complementizer agreement is the result of an Agree-relation between C° and the subject, the absence of this phenomenon on sluiced wh-phrases remains mysterious under Merchant's account.

This concludes my overview of Lobeck's (1995) and Merchant's (2001) analysis for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases. I have shown that neither of them is suitable to account for the difference between sluicing and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'.

15.3.4 Conclusion

Summing up, in the preceding sections I have presented an analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. I argued that this construction involves the PF-deletion of Agr_SP. This not only explains the absence of any Agr_SP- or PolP-related material to the right of 'yes' and 'no' but also eliminates the licensing violation of the TP-proform induced by the lack of [+F]-marking on the head of the high PolP. I have also provided an account for the presence of subject clitics and agreement endings on 'yes' and 'no', as well as for their absence on sluiced wh-phrases. The crucial factor distinguishing these two constructions turned out to be the position occupied by the (elided) subject at Spell-Out. While in sluiced IPs the subject remains in specVP, in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' it is invariably base-generated in specAgr_SP. Given that both complementizer agreement and subject clitic placement can be shown to be sensitive to this difference in locality, their limited distribution follows naturally.[23] In the following section, I introduce and discuss the account of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' presented in Postma and Van der Wurff (2007).

15.4 A Previous Analysis: Postma and Van der Wurff (2007)

Although the possibility of adding subject clitics and agreement suffixes to *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' in Dutch dialects has been amply noted in the dialectological literature

(see Paardekooper 1993 for an overview), the only theoretical analysis of this phenomenon to date is the one given in Postma and Van der Wurff (2007) (P&W). Their article is mainly concerned with the cross-linguistic distribution of negative imperatives—an issue I will not go into here—but they present the existence of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' as supporting evidence for a particular aspect of their account. I will briefly introduce, discuss, and evaluate their proposal. I will show that although I share one of P&W's basic assumptions about the syntax of 'yes' and 'no', there is also a crucial difference. In particular, they fail to make the connection with dialect Dutch SDRs.

They assume that negation (or more generally, polarity)[24] in Dutch is expressed by two separate functional projections. The highest one, NegP, hosts epistemic negation, and its head position is lexicalized by *niet* 'not'. The lower one, BoulP, expresses "boulemaeic" negation, that is, negation meaning 'I do not want.' Polarity markers such as *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' are syntactic operators that move from specBoulP to specCP. This means that B's reply in (51) is given the partial structural representation in (52).

(51) A: Komt Ed?
comes Ed

B: Nee, Ed komt niet.
no Ed comes not

'A: Is Ed coming? B: No, he isn't.' [Dutch]

(52) $[_{CP}$ *nee*$_i$ C° $[_{IP}$ *Ed komt* $[_{NEGP}$ spec $[_{NEG'}$ *niet* $[_{BOULP}$ t_i Boul° ... $[_{VP}$ ...]]]]]]

In this structure, *nee* 'no' is merged in the specifier position of BoulP, from where it A-bar-moves to specCP. Thus, P&W assume that this polarity element is merged inside the full clausal reply to the yes/no-question with which it is associated. As supporting evidence, they discuss conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. They present the following data from the dialect of Texel:

(53)
a.	1sg	ninn-ik	'no-I'
b.	2sg	nin-je	'no-you$_{SG}$'
c.	3sgm	ninn-ie	'no-he'
d.	3sgf	nin-se	'no-she'
e.	3sgn	ninn-it	'no-it'
f.	1pl	ninn-e-we	'no-PL-we'
g.	2pl	nin-jullie	'no-you$_{PL}$'
h.	3pl	nin-se	'no-they'

[Texel Dutch]

Their argument now goes as follows. Given that 'yes' and 'no' can be combined with elements that are normally associated with full-fledged clauses (i.e. clitics and agreement markers), it seems plausible to assume that these polarity elements are merged inside such a clause as well. Moreover, P&W take the fact that the

agreement endings that occur to the right of *nee* 'no' (see (53)f) also show up on agreeing complementizers to be an indication that the landing site of the proposed movement operation is indeed specCP. Conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' are thus presented as supporting evidence both for the base-generated position of these polarity elements, and for their derived position. This concludes my overview of P&W's analysis of this construction.

I will discuss four issues relating to this account. First, it is interesting that my analysis of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' shares with P&W's analysis the assumption that at Spell-Out, polarity elements such as *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' occupy specCP. The fact that the same conclusion has been reached by two studies independently might appear to indicate that the general approach I have adopted is on the right track. The two accounts differ, however, when it comes to the derivational history of *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no'. Whereas I assumed in the previous section that these elements are merged directly in specCP, in P&W's analysis they move to this position in the course of the derivation. I have been unable to find clear positive evidence favoring one option over the other; but note that P&W's analysis involves moving an element from a low NegP across a higher NegP. Given that such a movement is in violation of Relativized Minimality (i.e. it is an extraction from an Inner Island), I believe the analysis I present here is preferable to P&W's alternative.

Second, my account differs markedly from P&W's with respect to their claim that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' originate inside the full clausal answer to the yes/no-question they are associated with. Recall from the preceding sections that I have argued at length that the syntactic structure underlying conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is the same as that from which SDRs are derived. Schematically speaking, then, while P&W analyze B's reply in (54) roughly as in (55)a, I have proposed that it derives from a representation comparable to that in (55)b.

(54) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: Jui-s.
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(55) a. Jui-s < Jou ze kom mergen
yes-she < yes she comes tomorrow

b. Jui-s < Jou ze duut *pro*$_{\text{TP}}$
yes-she < yes she does

In what follows, I show that the hypothesis in (55)a makes a number of false predictions. First, while SDRs cannot overtly co-occur with conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' (see the appendix to chapter 11), full clausal replies to yes/no-questions can. Consider (56).

(56) A: Kom zaai mergen?
comes she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ tomorrow

B: Jui-s, zaai kom mergen.
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ comes tomorrow

'A: Is she coming tomorrow? B: Yes, she is.' [Wambeek Dutch]

If P&W's analysis is on the right track, B's reply in this dialogue contains one single syntactic tree. That is, the form *juis* 'yes.she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$' has originated inside the clause it is accompanied by. Note that this means that the subject is spelled out twice in this sentence, once as the clitic pronoun *s* 'she' and once as the strong pronoun *zaai* 'she'. In other words, it looks as if this example contains an instance of clitic doubling (see section 15.3 for discussion). Now consider from this perspective (57) and (58).

(57) * Ik paus da-se ze mergen komt.
I think that-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ she$_{\text{WEAK}}$ tomorrow comes [Wambeek Dutch]

(58) A: Kom ze mergen?
comes she$_{\text{WEAK}}$ tomorrow

B: Jui-s, ze kom mergen.
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ she$_{\text{WEAK}}$ comes tomorrow

'A: Is she coming tomorrow? B: Yes, she is.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The example in (57) shows that in the dialects I am considering, a clitic pronoun cannot be doubled by a weak pronoun. On P&W's account, this means that the same restriction should hold in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' followed by a full clausal answer. As illustrated by B's reply in (58), this is not the case. The clitic pronoun *s* 'she' that is attached to *jou* 'yes' is perfectly compatible with the weak pronoun *ze* 'she' that occupies the subject position of the verb *kom* 'comes'. The contrast between (57) and (58) suggests, then, that B's reply in (58) does not consist of a single syntactic tree. Put differently, the data seem to point to the conclusion that conjugated 'yes' and 'no' do not occupy a structural position in the extended verbal projection of a full clausal reply. The same line of reasoning applies to (59)–(62).

(59) * Ik paus da-se Marie mergen komt.
I think that-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ Mary tomorrow comes [Wambeek Dutch]

(60) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: Jui-s, Marie kom mergen.
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ Mary comes tomorrow

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes, she is.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(61) Z' ei-se t (*ze) zaai guud opgelost.
she$_{\text{WEAK}}$ has-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ it she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ well solved
'She has solved it well.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(62) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow
B: Jui-s, ze kom-se zaai mergen
yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ she$_{\text{WEAK}}$ comes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ tomorrow
'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes, she is.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The example in (59) illustrates that clitic pronouns cannot be doubled by proper names. In this sentence, the clitic pronoun *se* 'she' that is attached to the complementizer is incompatible with the subject-DP *Marie* 'Mary'. Again, this restriction ceases to hold in combinations of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' with full clausal replies. This is shown in the dialogue in (60), where the clitic pronoun and the proper name can freely co-occur. A similar argument can be constructed on the basis of (61) and (62). The sentence in (61) shows that in the dialect of Wambeek subject tripling is allowed, but quadrupling is not. In other words, one sentence can contain at most three distinct spell-outs of the same subject.[25] In B's reply in (62), however, the subject is spelled out four times. This once again suggests that this reply does not consist of a single syntactic tree. Summing up, the assumption that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' originate inside the full clausal answer to the yes/no-question they are associated with falsely predicts restrictions on pronominal subject doubling to apply to combinations of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' with full clausal replies. Moreover, the same conclusion holds for the agreement endings that can show up on 'yes' and 'no'. Consider (63) and (64).

(63) Kpeize da-n Piet en Jan gewonnen èèn.
I.think that-PL Pete and John won have
'I think Pete and John have won.' [Waregem Dutch]

(64) A: Èèn Piet en Jan gewonnen?
have Pete and John won
B: a. * Ja-n, Piet en Jan èèn gewonnen.
yes-PL Pete and John have won
b. Ja-n-s, Piet en Jan èèn gewonnen.
yes-PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ Pete and John have won
'A: Have Pete and John won? B: Yes, they have.' [Waregem Dutch]

The example in (63) illustrates that the occurrence of complementizer agreement in Waregem Dutch is not dependent on the embedded subject being pronominal. In this sentence, the subject is a coordination of two proper names, yet the complementizer has a plural agreement-*n* attached to it. If P&W's analysis is on the right track, the same should hold for the combination of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' with a full clausal reply. As the contrast in (64) shows, this is not the case. The plural agreement-*n*

cannot occur on its own to the right of the polarity marker, not even when it is followed by a full clausal reply with a plural subject.[26] Once again, then, the data suggest that the relation between conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' on the one hand and full clausal replies on the other is less direct than P&W assume.

Third, and in some respects the mirror image of the second issue: so far, I have shown that assuming a tight link between conjugated 'yes' and 'no' and full clausal replies leads to a number of false predictions. I have also argued in section 15.2 that there are a number of empirical parallelisms between dialect Dutch SDRs and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. As it stands, it is unclear how P&W would account for these data. For example, in my analysis the absence of object clitics to the right of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' follows from the fact that this construction contains a null proform that pronominalizes the entire TP. From the point of view of the analysis outlined in this section, their nonoccurrence remains mysterious. If subject clitics are able to raise out of the IP and attach to C°, there is no reason why object clitics should not be able to do the same. A similar point can be made with respect to the interaction between conjugated 'yes' and 'no' and expletive constructions. As far as I can see, P&W have no straightforward account for the fact that in reply to a yes/no-question that contains a *there*-expletive, it is the third person singular neuter subject clitic *'t* 'it' that is attached to 'yes' and 'no'. In my approach, this follows from the discussion of the properties of SDR-subjects in chapter 13.

Fourth and finally, the different behavior of sluiced wh-phrases and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' receives no straightforward account under P&W's analysis. Given that both constructions involve the PF-deletion of a full-fledged IP, it is unclear why subject clitics and agreement endings are allowed to surface in one but not in the other.

Summing up, in this section I have introduced and discussed the analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' developed in P&W. I have shown that the main problem with their account is the assumption that there is a structural, derivational link between conjugated 'yes' and 'no' and the full clausal reply to the yes/no-question they are associated with. Therefore, I conclude that the analysis outlined in the previous section is preferable to the one P&W have presented.[27]

15.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the phenomenon in a number of Dutch dialects whereby the polarity markers *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' are combined with a subject clitic and in some cases also an agreement suffix. I have shown that there are substantial empirical reasons to assume that the syntactic structure underlying this construction is the same as that from which SDRs are derived. The analysis I have proposed capitalizes on this observation. The licensing violation on the TP-proform necessitates the PF-deletion of Agr_SP; on the other hand, the fact that the subject is base-generated in specAgr_SP allows for a straightforward explanation of why clitics and agreement endings are disallowed to occur on sluiced wh-phrases. Finally, I have introduced and evaluated the analysis of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' developed by P&W, arguing that one of their central assumptions leads to a number of false predictions.

16

Conclusion and Theoretical Implications

16.1 Conclusion

The preceding six chapters contain an in-depth discussion of the dialect Dutch use of the verb *duun* 'do' in short contradictory replies, a basic example of which is given in (1).

(1) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly

B: Z'en duut.
she.NEG does

'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

In chapter 11, I argued that a closer inspection of the basic properties of this construction leads to the conclusion that it contains a null, structureless proform rather than a fully merged but PF-deleted syntactic structure. Accordingly, the analysis I proposed in chapters 12 and 13 focused heavily on the licensing and identification requirements of this proform. At the same time, I presented evidence in favor of a specific hierarchy of IP-internal functional projections, and discussed the syntax of the contradictory reading induced by these SDRs.

In chapter 14, I identified the proform *da* 'that' in B's reply in (2) as the overt counterpart of the null proform I postulated in the analysis of (1).

(2) A: Marie gaat naar de film.
Mary goes to the movies

B: Da's nie.
that.is not

'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

In that chapter, I also demonstrated how the overt-versus-covert nature of the proform correlates with the choice of the verb (*zijn* 'be' versus *duun* 'do') and the way negation and emphatic affirmation are expressed (the negative adverb *nie* 'not' in (2) versus the negative clitic *en* 'NEG' in (1)). Chapter 15 was devoted to short replies to yes/no-questions in dialects that also feature the construction in (3).

(3) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: Jui-s.
yes-she_{CLITIC}

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

I have shown that the syntactic structure underlying B's reply in this dialogue is in all relevant respects identical to the one from which short contradictory replies with *duun* 'do' are derived. As such, these data represent an extra construction in which the null proform shows up that I postulated in my analysis of SDRs. All in all, then, the preceding six chapters contain a novel, unified account of the three—at first sight unrelated—constructions illustrated in (1)–(3).

16.2 Theoretical Implications

16.2.1 The Theory of Ellipsis and *Pro*

The main conclusion of the preceding chapters is the fact that not all elliptical constructions are the result of PF-deleting a full-fledged syntactic structure. I have argued at length that dialect Dutch SDRs contain a null, structureless proform that pronominalizes the entire TP. This brought into the analysis of this construction several elements usually associated with the literature on pro-drop. The flip side of all this is that the preceding discussion can also be read as an extra argument in favor of a PF-deletion analysis of English VP-ellipsis. Recall that SDRs and VP-ellipsis pattern differently with respect to a number of characteristics, such as the presence of *there*-expletives, the possibility of agreement with an elided associate DP, and the possibility of extraction from the ellipsis site by means of wh-movement or pseudogapping. All these properties have been presented in the literature as arguments in favor of a PF-deletion analysis of VP-ellipsis. The fact that I have now uncovered a construction that behaves like the mirror image of VP-ellipsis with respect to precisely these criteria seems to suggest that they indeed show what they are intended to show, and that the conclusion that is based on them is warranted.

On the other hand, my analysis of SDRs also casts doubt on some of the arguments raised by advocates of the proform-theory of ellipsis in favor of their

account (see for example Chao 1987, Hardt 1993, 1999, Lobeck 1995, 1999, López 1995, 1999, López and Winkler 2000, Zagona 1988). An approach that is often—implicitly or explicitly—adopted by these authors is to look for typically "pronominal" characteristics of elliptical constructions. For example, it is well known that pronouns such as *he* or *that* do not necessarily require an overt, linguistic antecedent. The fact that the same holds (under certain circumstances; see Merchant 2004 for discussion) for VP-ellipsis is then seen as an indication that this construction contains a pronominal as well. The discussion of dialect Dutch SDRs presented in the preceding chapters suggests that such arguments should be handled with care. Consider (4).

(4) [Context: a mother catches her thirteen-year-old son about to sneak off to a party in spite of the fact that he's not allowed to go out; the mother shouts:]
 # G'en doetj!
 you.NEG do
 INTENDED READING: 'Oh no you don't!' [Wambeek Dutch]

What this example shows is that SDRs require an overt, linguistic antecedent; that is, they cannot be pragmatically controlled (see Hankamer and Sag 1976, Sag and Hankamer 1984). From the point of view of the existing proform-theories of ellipsis, this is an unexpected result. On the one hand, I have argued at length that SDRs contain a null proform; on the other, this construction does not display what is considered to be a typically pronominal property. In light of the reading induced by SDRs, the judgment in (4) is not at all surprising. In order to be able to contradict the utterance made by the previous speaker, there has to *be* such an utterance to begin with. In other words, the question of whether or not a certain construction can be pragmatically controlled depends on much more than it containing a pronominal.[1] More generally, if the approach developed in the preceding chapters is on the right track, the fact that a particular construction can be pragmatically controlled is neither a necessary nor a sufficient criterion for detecting the presence of a non-DP-proform. Needless to say, this would seriously reduce the force of any arguments based on such data. It seems fair to conclude, then, that the arguments traditionally presented in favor of proform-analyses of ellipsis should be handled with care.

There is a second noticeable difference between my analysis of SDRs and the existing 'ellipsis-as-*pro*'-literature. In particular, a question that is rarely raised by the authors mentioned earlier—but see note 1 in chapter 14 for two exceptions—is whether the null proform they postulate also has an overt counterpart, and if so, whether there is a construction in which it shows up. Recall that I have devoted an entire chapter to answering precisely these questions. In chapter 14, I argued that the proform *da* 'that' found in the construction exemplified in (5) represents the overt counterpart of the null pronominal that I postulated in the analysis of SDRs.

(5) A: Marie gaat naar de film.
 Mary goes to the movie

B: Da's nie.
that.is not

'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

Summing up, then, I have shown not only that some elliptical constructions involve a null proform but also that not all the arguments raised in the literature in favor of such an approach are equally valid, and I have suggested a new one.

16.2.2 The Internal Make-up of IP and the Theory of Negation

A second implication of the theory developed in the preceding chapters concerns the structural position occupied by polarity markers in the extended IP-domain. To the extent that my analysis is successful, it can be seen as a new argument in favor of postulating two separate polarity projections (PolPs in my account) in the clause structure of (at least dialectal) Dutch. One is situated immediately above TP and the other immediately above VP. On the other hand, both in my analysis of SDRs and in that of *da's nie/(ja)wel,* the existence of Agr_SP as an independent functional projection immediately dominating the high PolP turned out to be crucially important. In both constructions, the presence of nominative case and phi-feature agreement is dissociated from tense marking. The most straightforward way to implement such data is by assuming that while Agr_SP is present, TP is not. Chapters 13 and 14 can thus be read as an extended argument in favor of the existence of Agr_SP (pace Chomsky 1995:349–355).

16.2.3 The Syntax of Discourse Particles

A third issue that has played a central role throughout the second part of this book concerns the syntax of discourse particles. As indicated in section 12.3 of chapter 12, this is an issue that has received very little attention in the generative research tradition.[2] This is arguably due to the fact that given their high degree of discourse-dependence, it is not a priori clear whether such elements should be included in the "core" part of the grammar. The approach I have taken toward them in the preceding six chapters suggests that they should. In chapter 12, I have argued that the elements *toch* and *wel* preceding B's reply in (6) should be analyzed as occupying very specific and well-defined structural positions in the functional field of the clause that follows it.

(6) A: Marie gui nie nui de cinema.
Mary goes not to the cinema

B: Toch wel, Marie gui wel nui de cinema.
PRT AFF Mary goes AFF to the cinema.

'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Similarly, in chapter 15 I showed that there are good reasons to assume that 'yes' and 'no' occupy a structural position in the CP-domain as well. This not only helps

explain why they can co-occur with subject clitics and agreement endings in the dialects I am considering but also allows for an elegant account of the absence of clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases. All in all, then, it seems fair to conclude that the syntax of discourse particles is a field of research in its own right—one that, when taken seriously, will be able to shed new light on current theories of the functional architecture of the clause.

17

General Conclusions

17.1 Overview of the Book

In this final chapter, I present the main overarching conclusions of this book, and I point out a number of specific questions and topics for future research that my discussion has raised. Before doing so, I briefly summarize the core empirical findings and theoretical analyses of the preceding 15 chapters, to set the stage for what will follow.

In the first case study, I focused on the two constructions exemplified in (1) and (2).

(1) Jef eid iemand gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
Jeff has someone seen but I know not who that_{DEM}
'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(2) Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

As illustrated by the Wambeek Dutch example in (1), some Dutch dialects allow a sluiced wh-phrase to be followed by the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'. In chapter 3, I showed that there is substantial empirical evidence suggesting that this construction derives from an underlying cleft structure, in which *da* 'that' occupies the subject position of the matrix clause. Moreover, I argued that the construction in (1) is the result of focus movement of this demonstrative pronoun to the specifier position of a low CP-projection, with concomitant PF-deletion of IP. In the English example in (2) on the other hand, the preposition *about* appears to have been stranded to the right of the sluiced wh-phrase *what*. In my analysis, *about* is situated in the same CP-projection that *da* 'that' is situated in in (1). It is stranded there by the wh-phrase on its way to the

higher specCP. The approach just sketched allows for a far-reaching unification of these two constructions. First, it provides a straightforward account for the fact that neither of them can feature complex wh-phrases (illustrated in (3) and (4)). Under the assumption—discussed extensively in chapter 4—that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in the specifier position of the high CP, it follows that when sluicing takes place, it is the lower CP-layer, rather than IP, that is PF-deleted. This means that the projection that hosts *da* 'that' in (1) and *about* in (2) is contained in the ellipsis site and, as a result, that these elements cannot show up.

(3)	*Jef	ei	ne	student	gezien,	mo	ik	weet	nie	welke	student da.
	Jeff	has	a	student	seen	but	I	know	not	which	student $that_{DEM}$

INTENDED READING: 'Jeff saw a student, but I don't know which student.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(4) *Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know which topic about.

Second, the fact that both the demonstrative pronoun in (1) and the stranded preposition in (2) bear stress follows from the fact that they both occupy the specifier position of the CP-projection typically associated with focus movement. Third and finally, neither of these two constructions occurs in nonelliptical wh-questions; that is, they are restricted to sluicing. This I have taken to be an indication that ellipsis is needed to repair what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation or configuration. In the case of (1), the focus movement of the demonstrative pronoun is triggered by a weak feature and hence can only take place in overt syntax if the lower part of the movement chain is deleted at PF (see Richards 2001:134–141). The sentence in (2), however, represents a violation of the ban on P-stranding in intermediate positions (Postal 1972). Here, ellipsis is needed to restore Chain Uniformity at PF.

Chapters 10 to 16 were devoted to the three constructions exemplified in (5)–(7).

(5) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
Mary sees Peter gladly

B: Jou z'en duut.
yes she.NEG does

'A: Mary loves Peter. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(6) A: Marie gaat naar de film.
Mary goes to the movie

B: Da's nie.
that.is not

'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.' [Brabant Dutch]

(7) A: Kom Marie mergen?
comes Mary tomorrow

B: Jui-s.
$yes\text{-}she_{CLITIC}$

'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The approach I adopted with respect to these three constructions was quite different from the one just outlined. In chapter 11, a comparison between examples like the one in (5) and English VP-ellipsis led to the conclusion that the ellipsis site to the right of the verb *duut* 'does' in B's reply in (5) contains no internal structure. It cannot host traces of wh-movement, pseudo-gapping, or clitic movement, and unlike VP-ellipsis, it does not allow for the insertion of a *there*-expletive in the subject position of *duut* 'does' (suggesting that it cannot host an elided associate DP). Inspired by earlier accounts of ellipsis such as Chao (1987), Hardt (1993), and Lobeck (1995), I analyzed the gap in examples like the one in (5)B as a null, non-DP proform. This pronominal is licensed by the head of a high PolP, which is morphologically realized as the negative clitic *en*. Given that this head is situated fairly high in the IP-domain, the proform replaces a large part of the extended verbal projection. This explains why the construction exemplified in (5)B is severely restricted when it comes to tense and aspect marking on the verb, the pronominal status of the subject, and the presence or absence of adverbial modification. The fact that the same restrictions are also present in the construction in (6)B led to the conclusion that the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that' in B's reply in (6) is the overt counterpart of the null pronominal I postulated in the analysis of (5). Moreover, the main differences between the examples in (5)B and (6)B (i.e. the choice of the verb, the type of negation marking, and the presence or absence of a subject) were all shown to follow from the covert versus overt nature of this pronominal. As such, data such as those in (6) constitute an important extra argument in favor of the account developed for the construction in (5).

Finally, in chapter 15 I argued that the very same analysis is applicable to the phenomenon illustrated in (7), where the polarity marker *jou* 'yes' co-occurs with a subject clitic (and in some dialects also with an agreement suffix). Given that the two constructions in (5) and (7) pattern alike with respect to the behavior of *there*-expletives, the absence of object clitics, and the severe restrictions on the subject, it seems plausible to assign the same syntactic structure to them, even though in (7) part of this structure has been PF-deleted. Here, too, the deletion process is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate configuration, that is, a licensing violation of the null, non-DP proform at PF. Moreover, the fact that the subject is base-generated in a high position in the constructions in (5) and (7) led to an elegant account for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases. This concludes my overview of the preceding 15 chapters.

17.2 Main Conclusions and Consequences

As I pointed out in the introductory section, the main conclusions of this book are situated in two areas: the syntax of ellipsis and the study of Dutch dialects. I will discuss each of these in turn.

17.2.1 Conclusions for the Syntax of Ellipsis and the Theory of Syntax

With respect to ellipsis, the most notable finding of this study is the fact that while some elliptical constructions are the result of PF-deleting a full-fledged syntactic structure, others involve a base-generated null, non-DP proform. At first sight, this is not a new conclusion. Advocates of the proform theory of VP-ellipsis generally—though usually implicitly—assume that a construction such as gapping, which differs from VP-ellipsis with respect to several criteria, is the result of actual deletion. My account differs from theirs in a number of respects. First, mine is the first to present an explicit analysis both for the deletion and for the proform side of ellipsis.[1] In particular, for the PF-deletion account I have adopted and adapted Merchant's (2001) implementation in terms of the [E]-feature, while for the licensing and identification requirements of *pro* I have suggested a new, minimalist account.[2]

Second, the argumentation I have presented in favor of the presence of a non-DP proform differs markedly from that put forward by other authors. Several of their arguments turned out to be inconclusive (e.g. pragmatic control, nominal antecedents, etc.); and I have brought a new type of argument into the debate: the question of whether the proform has an overt correlate.

Third, the typology of elliptical constructions that follows from my account is different from the ones proposed earlier. For example, Lobeck (1995, 1999) argues that NP-deletion, VP-ellipsis, and sluicing all involve a null, non-DP proform, and seems to assume that gapping and pseudogapping are derived through deletion of syntactic structure. In my analysis, the only constructions containing a null pronominal are dialect Dutch SDRs and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. More generally, if the approach outlined in the preceding chapters is on the right track, the set of elliptical constructions containing a null proform is much smaller than previously assumed.

This in turn raises interesting questions concerning the distribution of these two mechanisms. Why does a language employ PF-deletion of a full-fledged syntactic structure in one case and insert a null proform in the other? Although this is an issue that clearly requires a lot more (cross-linguistic) research, I do want to speculate on it a bit further here. In particular, it is tempting to take the fact that the null proform occurs in only a very limited number of cases as an indication that it is a last resort mechanism. This is reminiscent of Cinque's (1990:chap. 3) discussion of operator-bound DP-*pro*. Cinque suggests that in certain constructions where a trace would be illicit (e.g. in islands, parasitic gaps, and *tough*-movement constructions), a null, operator-bound pronominal can be inserted as a last resort option. In other words, this instance of *pro* only shows up when movement is independently disallowed (usually as the result of locality restrictions of various sorts). Transferred to the case at hand, this would mean that a null proform can only be used when PF-deletion of a syntactic structure is prohibited for independent reasons.[3] In order to see what those reasons could be, consider (8).

(8) a. Ed's mansion is much larger than Jill's [*e*].
b. Ed has read more books than Jill has [*e*].
c. Ed has met someone, but I don't know who [*e*].

Assume that in all three constructions in (8), ellipsis is the result of PF-deleting a fully fledged syntactic structure (for the latter two, this is argued explicitly in this book; for the first one, see Chisholm 2002). On the basis of these examples, one could raise the hypothesis that only phase heads can license PF-deletion of their complement (see also Gengel 2007, which independently arrives at a comparable conclusion).[4] Specifically, in (8)c C° licenses the deletion of IP, in (8)b *v*° licenses the deletion of VP, and in (8)a D° licenses the deletion of NP (see Svenonius 2000 on DP being a phase).[5] Such an approach makes sense, given that the derivation is generally assumed to be sent off to the PF-interface in chunks corresponding to the complements of phase heads. At such points, it should be determined whether or not this constituent will be overtly realized. With all of this in mind, I now turn to the structure I proposed for dialect Dutch SDRs. The labeled bracketing in (10) schematically represents the structure of B's reply in (9) (traces have been omitted).

(9) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
Mary sees Peter not gladly

B: Ze duut.
she does

'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(10) $[_{CP}$ *ze duut* $[_{Agr_SP}$ spec $Agr_S°$ $[_{PolP}$ spec Pol° $pro_{TP}]]]$

In this construction, the 'elided' part of the structure is crucially *not* the complement of a phase head. The SDR-proform is a sister of the high Pol°-head, which is situated inside the IP-domain. Under the hypothesis adopted earlier, this means that PF-deletion is not a viable alternative in this construction, and that as a result, a null pronominal has to be used. Although these extended considerations by no means constitute a full account of the relation between PF-deletion and *pro,* I do consider them suggestive and hope to return to them in future research.

A second characteristic of ellipsis that has featured prominently in the preceding 15 chapters concerns its ability to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation or configuration. As Merchant has pointed out (2008b:152–153), this is proving to be a highly fruitful area of research. In this book, PF-deletion was argued to nullify the effects of overt movement triggered by weak features, violations of Chain Uniformity at PF, EPP-violations (see also Van Craenenbroeck and Den Dikken 2006), and the failure to comply with the licensing requirements of a null pronominal. I stress, though, that I am not using ellipsis here as a convenient deus ex machina to be called to the rescue whenever needed. Not *all* types of violations can be lifted by PF-deleting the offending structure. For example, Sauerland (1996) points out that while strong islands can be repaired by sluicing, weak ones cannot. This suggests that while the former cause a derivation to crash at PF, the latter do so at LF (see also Szabolcsi and Zwarts 1993, Rizzi 2000 on weak islands). In other words, ellipsis is used as a heuristic tool to determine which constraint is relevant for which interface. This means that to the extent that the analyses I have proposed are successful, they can be read as an extra argument in support of a PF-requirement on the licensing of null pronominals, a PF-counterpart to Chomsky's (1995:91) notion

of Chain Uniformity, an analysis of the EPP-effect as a pure PF-requirement, and a purely PF-driven approach to the overt/covert-distinction à la Richards (2001: chap. 4).

Another way ellipsis can function as a heuristic device concerns the theory of clause structure. At several points in the foregoing discussion, I have used ellipsis (both PF-deletion and *pro*) as a probe into the precise hierarchy of clausal functional projections. This is not surprising, given that deletion is one of the traditional constituency tests, but the way I have put it to use here is slightly more refined. For example, from the contrast between the examples in (1) and (3) (repeated here), I concluded in chapter 5 that sluicing does not always delete the same part of the clausal structure, and by extension, that the intermediate landing sites of minimal wh-phrases are not identical to those of complex ones.

(11) Jef eid iemand gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
Jeff has someone seen but I know not who $that_{DEM}$
'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(12) *Jef ei ne student gezien, mo ik weet nie welke student da.
Jeff has a student seen but I know not which student $that_{DEM}$
INTENDED READING: 'Jeff saw a student, but I don't know which student.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Similarly, in chapter 13 I took the presence of nominative case and subject/verb-agreement and the absence of tense and aspect marking in SDRs as an indication that the null proform pronominalizes a part of the structure that is larger than VP and smaller than Agr_SP. This in turn implies that there has to be an independent Agr_SP-projection (pace Chomsky 1995:349–355). As such, ellipsis can be employed to construct fairly detailed arguments concerning clause structure.

A final conclusion concerns an aspect of the theory of ellipsis that has so far featured only implicitly in the discussion. Recall from the introduction that there are three prevalent theories of ellipsis. Apart from the PF-deletion and the *pro*-approach, there is a line of analysis—advocated for example by Culicover and Jackendoff (2005)—that assumes there to be no syntactic structure at all inside ellipsis sites. As I mentioned in note 1 of chapter 1, this approach at no point occupied center stage in this book; nonetheless, the discussion in the preceding chapters can be seen as an extended argument against it. For example, in the first case study I have made extensive reference to the unpronounced syntactic structure of the constructions under investigation, arguing for example that spading has the same syntax as a cleft or that swiping involves preposition stranding. Similarly, the second case study revealed that dialect Dutch SDRs are subject to restrictions reminiscent of null subjects in *pro*-drop languages and that in English VP-ellipsis the auxiliary can agree with an elided associate DP. Given that these (and similar) observations would require considerable additional complications in a theory that assumes there to be no unpronounced syntactic structure at all, this book represents an argument against such approaches.

17.2.2 Conclusions for Dutch Dialect Syntax

The second main topic of this book is the study of Dutch dialects. As I pointed out in the introduction, the main research question that can be raised in this area concerns the cause of the parametric variation outlined earlier. Specifically, it is not a priori clear why certain dialects display the phenomena I have discussed while others do not. In other words, what are the micro-parameters distinguishing the various dialects and how does the language learner know how to set them? In the minimalist framework adopted here, all parametric variation is argued to reduce to lexical and/or morphological differences between languages (Chomsky 1995). In what follows, I show that this hypothesis is supported by the data I have discussed.

The clearest illustration of this is the presence or absence of SDRs. Recall that in order for the null SDR-proform to be properly licensed, the head of the high PolP has to be morphophonologically realized as the negative clitic *en*. This automatically implies that dialects lacking such a clitic also fail to display SDRs. As such, this clitic forms a clearly visible clue for the language learner, signaling whether or not the head of the high PolP can license a null proform. This picture is complicated by the fact that not all dialects that feature *en* as a negative clitic also allow SDRs. Future research will have to determine whether these dialects simply do not make use of an option that is in principle available to them or whether there is an independent factor blocking the derivation of SDRs in these varieties.

Turning to *da's nie/(ja)wel,* the fact that this construction has a much wider distribution than SDRs also follows from this perspective. Given that it does not require the head of the high PolP to be spelled out, the set of dialects featuring *da's nie/(ja)wel* is much larger than the one allowing for SDRs. Once again, the question arises as to why not *all* dialects (including, for example, the standard language) display this construction. I suggest that this is a reflection of the extent to which the high PolP is still "active" or "visible" in the language. Assume that diachronic variation with respect to negation also involves variation as to which of the two PolPs is used. This ties in nicely with Van Kemenade's (2000) discussion of the history of negation in English. She concludes "that the history of negation is shaped by a delicate interplay between the high and the low negation position: low in early Old English; high in late Old English and early Middle English; low again in late Middle English and early Modern English" (74). With regard to the data discussed here, this would mean that in modern varieties of Dutch, three stages of this evolution can be discerned. In a first group, the high PolP is not only active, its head is also still morphologically realized as the negative clitic *en*. This is the set of dialects that allows for SDRs. A second group has lost the negative clitic but still actively uses the high PolP in constructions such as *da's nie/(ja)wel,* while in the third group, which includes standard Dutch, the high PolP has become completely inert.[6] Although this tripartition remains speculative at this point, it does successfully reduce the variation found with respect to these two constructions to the functional structure and concomitant morphology of the dialects involved (see also Haegeman 2002:182–183 for related discussion).

An interesting quirk is added to all of this by conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Recall that in my analysis of this construction, the PF-deletion of Agr_SP is

needed to mask the fact that the null TP-proform is not properly licensed. This might lead to the expectation that conjugated 'yes' and 'no' can also occur in dialects whose high Pol°-head fails to properly license null pronominals in general. In principle, then, this construction should have the same distribution as *da's nie/(ja) wel*. As pointed out in chapter fifteen, however, conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' pattern by and large with SDRs. This suggests that there is a second difference between SDR-dialects and their non-SDR-counterparts. Only the former have a null pro_{TP} in their lexicon to begin with. Arguably, this property is related to the discussion presented earlier. Suppose that a dialect has a null pro_{TP} in its lexicon but cannot use it in any construction (because there is no appropriate head to license this proform). It seems plausible to assume that in such a case, the proform will become obsolete in the course of time and that eventually it will disappear from the lexicon. This, I want to suggest, is what has happened to the SDR-proform in dialects that have lost the negative clitic *en*.

With respect to the possibility of demonstrative pronouns occurring to the right of sluiced wh-phrases (i.e. the topic of chapters 2–9), the situation is slightly different. In this case, the presence of this construction in some dialects and its absence in others does not appear to be the result of various stages of a diachronic process co-occurring in contemporary varieties of Dutch. Rather, what I want to suggest is that the presence or absence of spading is crucially related to the type of cleft construction it is derived from. Consider again (13) (adapted from chapter 3, section 3.2.6).

(13) a. Wannieje is da da Lewie komt?
when is $that_{DEM}$ $that_{C°}$ Louis comes
'When is it that Louis is coming?'

b. Wannieje is 't da Lewie komt?
when is it $that_{C°}$ Louis comes
'When is it that Louis is coming?' [Wambeek Dutch]

To my knowledge, the cleft construction in (13)b, where the matrix subject position is occupied by the expletive pronoun *'t* 'it', occurs in all varieties of Dutch. The variant in (13)a, which features the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that', is more restricted. Although its precise distribution is an issue I have not yet been able to look into, it is clear that this use of *da* 'that' is much less productive in, for example, standard Dutch, than it is in the dialect of Wambeek. Given that spading is derived from precisely this type of cleft, the absence of spading in the standard language might be related to the limited distribution of the construction in (13)a. Note that this difference can also be reduced to the morpholexical properties of the dialects in question. The fact that the dialect of Wambeek allows for the cleft in (13)a indicates that the feature specification of *da* 'that' in this dialect is different than in the standard language. In particular, this demonstrative pronoun appears to be more underspecified in Wambeek Dutch, allowing it to occur in a subject position normally accessible to expletive *'t* 'it' only. Once again, then, it is a difference in the lexicon that lies at the heart of the syntactic variation discussed in the preceding chapters.

This page intentionally left blank

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. This implies that in this book I will not devote any attention to approaches to ellipsis that assume there to be no unpronounced syntactic structure at all (see Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Van Riemsdijk 1978a). These authors argue for a what-you-see-is-what-you-get-approach to syntax; i.e., a sluicing example such as (1) does not contain any unpronounced syntactic structure. Rather, the CP-node of the clausal complement of *know* directly and exhaustively dominates the DP-node of *who*. The fact that this complement is interpreted as a constituent question about the people Ed invited is then due to a particular (noncompositional) rule mapping the syntactic structure onto a semantic representation. Note, though, that the discussion in the chapters that follow can be read as an extended argument against such approaches. I return to this issue in chapter 17. See also Merchant (2001:39–54) for related discussion.

2. Note that this line of approach—despite what its name might suggest—need not necessarily postulate an actual deletion rule. For example, from the perspective of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993), what is called deletion here would simply be the nonapplication of Vocabulary Insertion.

3. I am abstracting away here from individual differences between the authors mentioned. In particular, advocates of the proform theory of ellipsis typically fall into two camps. Some authors assume that the syntactic representation of the antecedent is copied into the empty category at LF (the so-called LF-copy theory, see Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey 1995, Fortin 2007, Lobeck 1995), while others argue that the empty proform finds its antecedent through purely semantic or pragmatic means (e.g. Hardt 1993, 1999). I briefly return to this dichotomy in note 2 of chapter 9 and notes 18 and 23 of chapter 11.

4. See www.meertens.knaw.nl/projecten/sand/sandeng.html and Barbiers, Cornips, and Kunst (2007) for more background information on the SAND project.

5. In figure 1.1, the provinces of Friesland (1) and Flemish Brabant (15) are represented by their capitals (Leeuwarden and Leuven, respectively).

6. As a reviewer quite rightly points out, this approach runs the risk of obscuring variation within one and the same dialect. For example, if half the informants rate an example as 1 and the other half as 5, the average score of 3 would not be very informative. In practice, however, the averages I give are all based on judgments that generally go in the same direction (i.e. all in the top or all in the bottom half of the scale in (3)). Whenever one or more informants had a clearly diverging judgment from the others, this is explicitly acknowledged in a note.

7. See for example Bayer (1984), Kayne (1989), Haegeman (1992), Benincà (1994), Henry (1995), Holmberg and Platzack (1995), Black and Motapanyane (1996), Zanuttini (1997), and Poletto (2000) for influential proposals. It should be clear, though, that this list is by no means exhaustive.

8. Note that notions such as "microvariation," "macrovariation," "language," and "dialect" are merely used as convenient, descriptive labels here, and that they do not reflect any substantive difference. See Chambers and Trudgill (1998:3–12) for relevant discussion. See also Kayne (1996) on these issues.

9. Throughout this book, the orthography I use for the Dutch dialect data is situated somewhere between a phonetic spelling and that of the standard language. Only when the precise pronunciation is relevant for the argumentation will I make use of a phonetic transcription. Wambeek is a village in the Belgian province of Flemish Brabant. See figure 1.1 for a geographical overview of all the dialects discussed in this book.

Chapter 2

1. Advocates of the proform analysis are Chao (1987), Lobeck (1995), Lobeck (1999), Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey (1995), while the PF-deletion approach is presented in Ross (1969), Hankamer and Sag (1976), Sag and Hankamer (1984), Merchant (2001).

2. The angled brackets used here are meant to be neutral between a PF-deletion and a *pro*-analysis of sluicing.

Chapter 3

1. Spading also occurs in Norwegian, Frisian, and certain varieties of German, but not—as far as I know—in English, Faroese or Icelandic, hence the addition of "noninsular." Frisian spading is discussed in chapter 6 and Norwegian spading in chapter 8. Spading has briefly been discussed for Frisian by Hoekstra (1993:9–12). I return to his analysis in chapter 7.

Although standard Dutch does not have spading in any general sense, the wh-word *hoezo* 'how come' (lit. how.so), which mainly—though not exclusively—occurs in sluicing contexts, does seem to allow for a form of spading. When sluiced, this wh-word can be split up by an intervening demonstrative pronoun: *Hoe dat zo?* 'How come?' (lit. how that$_{\text{DEM}}$ so). Moreover, the spading properties discussed in sections 3.2.4 and 3.2.5 hold of *Hoe dat zo* as well. In fact, under the assumption that *zo* 'so' is a demonstrative, the 'bare' form *hoezo* might itself be an instance of spading, and by extension, so might the English expression *how so*. (I owe this observation to a reviewer. I hope to return to the intriguing properties of *hoezo* in future work; and see also notes 6 and 14 in chapter 8 for further similarities between spading and *hoe dat zo*.)

2. English is not the only language in which unexpected word order changes between prepositions and their NP-complement show up under wh-movement. See chapter 6 for Frisian swiping and Merchant (2002:309–311) for swiping data from Danish and Norwegian. In addition, Broadwell (2002a, 2002b) discusses comparable examples from San Dionicio Zapotec and Amharic (thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for pointing this out to me). However,

given that on the whole the data from these two languages differ substantially from the Germanic swiping facts discussed in the main text, I will not attempt to provide a unified account here. See Broadwell (2002b:70–74), though, for a possible approach.

3. One caveat is in order: not all speakers allow spading in *embedded* questions. I return to this issue in note 25 in chapter 5, section 5.2.5. All the judgments in this book are based on speakers that allow for embedded spading.

4. The underlying form of both the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun and the declarative complementizer is *dat* (which is also the form used in standard Dutch), but in many (esp. Belgian) dialects, the final consonant is dropped in clause-final position and before consonants. Before vowels, however, it is retained and becomes voiced. Accordingly, this element will be spelled as *da, dat*, or *dad,* depending on the dialect and on its position in the clause.

5. As is clear from the examples in (4) and (5), the use of the emphatic form in spading is not obligatory in the dialect of Wambeek. Note that this does not weaken the argument, however: the element following the sluiced wh-phrase in the spading example shows the same morphological variation as the demonstrative pronoun, not as the complementizer.

6. As indicated by the glosses, the second occurrence of *da* in this example is an instance of the complementizer (Wambeek Dutch being an obligatorily doubly filled COMP filter violating dialect). The ungrammaticality of the first *da* is not due to a haplology rule disallowing two contiguous occurrences of this morpheme, however (and similarly for (9)g–j). This becomes clear in light of the example in (i), where there are no less than five contiguous occurrences of *da,* twice as a complementizer (the first and the third occurrence) and thrice as a demonstrative pronoun (the second, fourth, and fifth occurrence). This example also shows that there is no ban on the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun occurring next to the complementizer in Wambeek Dutch.

(i)	Ik	paus	da	da,	da	da	da	muu	vervangen.
	I	think	that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$	that$_{\text{DEM.SUBJ}}$	that$_{\text{C}^\circ}$	that$_{\text{DEM.SUBJ}}$	that$_{\text{DEM.OBJ}}$	must	replace

‘I think that that thing must replace that thing. [Wambeek Dutch]

7. A note on the formatting of ungrammatical examples in this book: if the intended reading of an ungrammatical example is sufficiently clear from the gloss, I do not provide a translation. If not, then I indicate what the meaning of the example would have been had it been grammatical.

8. Note that these data can also be used as an argument against the hypothesis that the *da*-element following the sluiced wh-phrase is a complementizer (see section 3.2.1). As is well known, a complementizer such as *that* can only be stressed when it is contrasted with another complementizer (e.g. *that* versus *if*). Given that this is clearly not the case in (12)b, we are not dealing with a complementizer here. (Thanks to a reviewer for suggesting this.)

9. As is often the case with these kinds of “affective” readings, they are hard to detect in actual discourse, and as a result the constructions bearing them are often overgeneralized. For example, one of my informants reports that he agrees that spading induces a surprise-reading, but at the same time he notes that he cannot guarantee he never uses spading in a neutral context. However, when a nonsurprise-reading is forced on a sentence (as is the case in (15)), spading is clearly infelicitous.

A more formal way of putting this would be to say that spading carries a negative presupposition (thanks to Dylan Tsai p.c. and Boban Arsenijevic p.c. for pointing this out to me). Given that the intuitive characterization in terms of surprise suffices for my purposes, however, I will continue to use it in the rest of the discussion.

10. Note that this does not mean that spading is an instance of pseudosluicing in Merchant’s (1998) sense. This issue is discussed in detail in chapter 7.

11. It is worth pointing out that the neuter proximate demonstrative pronoun *di(t)* 'this' cannot occur in the matrix subject position of clefts. Given that I will argue that spading is derived from clefts, this explains why the demonstrative pronoun used in spading is always the distal one (i.e. *da(t)* 'that') and never the proximate one (i.e. *di(t)* 'this'). As for why *di(t)* 'this' cannot occur in clefts, I have no new insights to offer. Thanks to Sjef Barbiers for raising this issue.

12. One thing that will become clear in section 5.2.4 but is worth highlighting already is that while *'t* 'it' in (17)b cannot be stressed (as in English *it*-clefts), *da* 'that' in (17)a can. Given that the *da*-element in spading is also stressed (see section 3.2.4), this is a first—albeit small—indication that the hypothesis I pursue in the main text is on the right track.

13. Throughout this book, I neutrally gloss the affirmative element *wel* as 'AFF'. A more or less accurate rendering of its meaning in English would be by means of emphatic *do*-support, as in (i):

(i) Ed houdt wel van houtsnijwerk.
Ed loves AFF of woodcarving
'Ed DOES like woodcarving.' [Dutch]

See chapter 12, sections 12.2 and 12.3 for extensive discussion of *wel*.

14. Needless to say, the examples in (24) and (25) are grammatical when the negation or affirmation marking occurs in the embedded clause of the cleft. Note also that the preverbal position of the negative or affirmative element in these examples leads to a violation of the V2-constraint and hence that this variant of (24)/(25) is arguably independently ruled out.

15. Interestingly, Hankamer and Sag (1976) themselves characterize sluicing as a "surface anaphor," i.e. an anaphor that cannot be pragmatically controlled. Examples like the one in (31) (which can easily be multiplied) show this claim to be false (as was already observed by Chao 1987:124–125). More generally, Hankamer and Sag's classification does not seem to be entirely accurate (see also Sag 1980: 315–328 for some early critical remarks). For example, as pointed out by Merchant (2004), VP-ellipsis, another surface anaphor, can also be pragmatically controlled. The question of what distinguishes elliptical processes that do not require an overt linguistic antecedent (e.g. sluicing and VP-ellipsis) from those that do (e.g. gapping and pseudogapping) remains an open and intriguing one. See also the second case study for some relevant discussion.

16. This is where the difference between the two types of clefts I have outlined (see (17) and surrounding text) becomes crucial. Clefts with a wh-pivot and a personal pronoun in the matrix clause are felicitous in the context sketched in (31). Compare (32) with (i):

(i) [Context: same as in (31)]
Wou is 't da ge gotj kiezen?
Who is it that_{C° you go choose
'Who is it that you will choose?' [Wambeek Dutch]

17. I want to thank a reviewer for suggesting this test, and in particular the modifier *onder andere* 'among others'. In a previous version of this text, I had followed Merchant (2001:122) in using *bijvoorbeeld* 'for example' as a test for nonexhaustivity (or "mention some"-modification, as Merchant calls it; see also note 19), but given that in the dialects I am considering, this modifier is compatible with clefts (i.e. is not a good test for exhaustivity), I had mistakenly concluded that Merchant's test was inapplicable to my data. Note also that given that the present subsection is a later addition, the data reported here were tested only for the dialect of Wambeek. However, given that the incombinability of spading with *nog* 'else' in section 3.2.6.5 can also be seen as related to the presence of an exhaustivity

requirement, I am confident an argument similar to the one outlined here can be constructed for the other dialects as well.

18. Note once again (see also note 14) that the preverbal position of the modifier in this example leads to a violation of the V2-constraint, and hence that this variant of (38) is arguably independently ruled out.

19. Merchant (2001:120–127) discusses ten arguments in support of the claim that "regular" sluicing in English does not derive from an underlying cleft structure. In principle, all these arguments could be used to argue that spading *does* derive from such a source. On closer inspection, however, I was only able to use three of them (the case argument of section 3.2.6.1, modification by *nog* 'else' in section 3.2.6.5, and exhaustivity—i.e. "mention some"-modification—in section 3.2.6.6). Of the remaining seven, two (swiping and left branch extractions) turned out to be irrelevant (see Van Craenenbroeck 2007 for discussion), while the other five (the behavior of adjuncts and implicit arguments, prosody, the behavior of aggressively non-D-linked wh-phrases, "mention all"-modification, and the cross-linguistic distribution of clefts) are compatible with my data, but inconclusive, as they do not distinguish between clefts with a wh-pivot and sluicing in the dialects I am considering. See also chapter 8, where I discuss some of these data in more detail.

20. Merchant (2002:297) refers to this restriction as the "minimality condition." Rosen (1976:209) formulates the constraint as follows: "In a Sluicing output that includes a stranded preposition, nothing whatever except the deletion site produced by Sluicing is allowed to stand between the WH-word and the preposition." In (42)b, for example, the noun *person* is in violation of this constraint, as it stands between the wh-word *which* and the preposition *to*.

A number of caveats are in order here. The first one concerns the wh-phrases *which* and *whose*. These seem to be minimal, but they still disallow swiping (see (i)); i.e., it looks as if not *all* minimal wh-phrases allow swiping. Second, in spite of being complex, the wh-phrases *how long, how much, and how many* are—at least for some speakers—allowed to occur in swiping, as is shown in (ii).

(i) a. * She bought a robe for one of her nephews, but God knows which for.
b. * They were riding in somebody's car, but I don't know whose in.

(ii) a. % He's been living in Arizona, but I don't know how long for.
b. % She bought it all right, but don't even ask how much for!
c. % There's a lot of cities on her list, so she'll be traveling a lot, but I don't know how many to.

With respect to (i), Merchant (2002:301–303) argues that these are in fact "concealed" complex wh-phrases (in both cases the head noun has been elided), so that swiping can be said to affect *all and only* minimal wh-phrases. I return in chapter 7 to the examples in (ii) when discussing Merchant's analysis of swiping. Other examples of complex wh-phrases allowing swiping can be found in Rosen (1976:209) and Hartman (2007:42–43). The former points out that one of her informants "accepts as grammatical such questions as *Which shelf on* and the like," while the latter lists a number of examples taken from the internet in which complex wh-phrases are swiped. I return to Hartman's data and analysis in chapter 7.

21. Not all speakers allow swiping in multiple sluicing: Merchant (2002:315n13) disallows it, while Richards (2001:139) reports examples that for him are acceptable. The sentence in (45), which is modeled on one of Richards's examples, has been judged by four native speakers. Two found it perfect; one gave it one question mark; one gave it two question marks.

22. As Howard Lasnik p.c. informs me, for some speakers, the example in (47) is more degraded than I suggest that it is here. For those speakers, Rosen's original claim is an accurate description of the distribution of swiping. I have no account for this variation. In addition, one of the reviewers of this book points out that she or he has the impression that (47) is degraded when the swiped preposition *with* receives focal stress. Although I will not attempt to provide an account for this phenomenon here, it is interesting to see that a comparable requirement holds of Frisian swiping for some speakers (see chapter 6, section 6.3).

Chapter 4

1. Compare this, for example, to Rizzi's (2004) expansion of the CP-domain, given in (i) (where the use of a Kleene star signals optional recursion).

(i) $[_{ForceP}$ Force° $[_{TopP*}$ Top°* $[_{IntP}$ Int° $[_{TopP*}$ Top°* $[_{FocP}$ Foc° $[_{Mod*}$ Mod°* $[_{TopP*}$ Top°* $[_{FinP}$ Fin° …

2. For now, I continue to interpret "minimal wh-phrases" as meaning "bare wh-pronouns or PPs containing them." I return to the issue of how to define this notion in section 4.4.1.

3. Note that this is a reinterpretation of Reinhart's proposal. She assumes that the highest COMP-position is the one targeted by question *operators*. See also Lee (2001) for a more recent split CP-account that bears a certain resemblance to mine.

4. Hoekstra and Zwart (1994, 1997) further support their specific implementation of the split CP hypothesis (which involves distinct landing sites for topics and wh-phrases) on the basis of certain extraction asymmetries between topics and wh-phrases. I will leave as a topic for further research the question of whether these facts can be incorporated into the present proposal as well. One thing to note, though, is that examples such as the one in (3) are problematic for Hoekstra and Zwart, as the wh-phrase *met wie* 'with who' occupies the specifier position of a projection that in their proposal is typically reserved for topics. Thanks to Sjef Barbiers p.c. for pointing this out to me.

5. There is interspeaker variation with respect to this construction in Strijen Dutch. Of the four informants I interviewed, only two allowed the complementizer to precede the wh-phrase (all of them allowed it to follow the wh-phrase). This, combined with the fact that in other dialects for which this construction has been reported (e.g. that of Amsterdam), it is also very difficult to find speakers who recognize it, might be an indication that this phenomenon is dying out.

6. A natural question that arises at this point concerns the cause of the variation between the dialect of Strijen and, say, standard Dutch, i.e. why can wh-phrases stay in specCP$_2$ in some dialects, but not in others? At present, I have no explanation to offer for this. For lack of a more interesting account, I will simply assume that in the dialect of Strijen, the clause typing feature on C°$_1$ is optionally strong. This means that it can be checked either before or after Spell-Out. I return to the Strijen Dutch data in section 4.3.6 below, where I show that Frisian might be similar in this respect.

7. What remains to be determined of course, is how the pronoun gets bound in (5)a if it is not c-commanded by *which student* at any point in the derivation. I leave this issue open here as it is tangential to the point developed in the main text. See section 4.4.2, though, for some related discussion.

8. Note that I follow Hornstein and Weinberg (1987), Reinhart (1987), Guéron and May (1987), Aoun et al. (1987), and Aoun and Li (2003) in assuming the relevant distinction between (7)a and (7)b to be syntactic complexity, and not D-linking (as in Pesetsky 1987, 2000, Comorovski 1996, Dayal 2003). As pointed out before, I return to the precise

definition of 'minimal' and 'complex,' as well as to the implications of that definition in section 4.4.1.

9. An obvious question that is raised at this point is how an example like the one in (i) is derived.

(i) Which student bought what?

The derivation of such a question follows naturally, however, from the proposal outlined in section 4.2. In this case an empty operator is merged in the subject position. Given that such an operator does bear operator features, it disallows *what* to move to C° and Superiority is respected. The complex wh-phrase *which student* is merged directly in the higher specCP.

Needless to say, in this short discussion I cannot do justice to the vast literature on Superiority, nor is it my ambition to do so. Rather, what I wanted to show is that the basic facts in (7) follow naturally from the present proposal under an Attract Closest-account of Superiority (see Chomsky 1995:296). See Pesetsky (2000), Dayal (2003), Fanselow (2004), Barrs (2000), Aoun and Li (2003), and references cited there for further discussion of Superiority. I also return to this issue in section 4.4.1.

10. I owe this observation to Sjef Barbiers. Not all native speakers find the contrast equally strong. In particular, one of the reviewers reports that for him/her it is "at best a *very* weak contrast" and adds that both examples sound like "gibberish." However, given that everyone I have consulted does find a contrast between these two examples, and given that it is the relative (rather than the absolute) judgment I am interested in here, I have decided to include the examples (and the argument based on them) nonetheless. On the absolute judgment of (9)a, see also note 11.

11. The fact that the example in (9)a is itself not fully grammatical follows from the fact that left dislocates have to be fully referential XPs, which *welke jongen* 'which boy' clearly is not.

12. As Sjef Barbiers p.c. observes, there might be ways around this problem that are compatible with the Inclusiveness Condition. For example, if the left-peripheral head attracting the nonoperator bears an operator-feature itself, then it might share this feature with that phrase (e.g. via spec/head-agreement) once it has landed in its specifier. As this issue is only tangentially related to the main line of argumentation developed here, however, I will henceforth leave it undiscussed.

13. In light of Lasnik and Stowell's (1991) discussion of WCO-effects in operator/variable-dependencies, the data in (10) point to the further conclusion that the empty operator I postulated in my analysis of complex wh-phrases is a 'true quantifier,' which binds a 'true variable,' rather than a null epithet. Note that this accords well with Lasnik and Stowell's (1991:705–707) definition of true quantifiers. In their analysis, true quantifiers are QPs that independently quantify over a possibly nonsingleton set. In a sentence like *Which man slept* (which in my analysis is represented as *[Which man]$_i$ Op$_i$ t$_i$ slept*), the quantifier *which* ranges over the set of men, while the empty operator independently ranges over the set of sleepers, thus qualifying as a true quantifier. These two sets are then combined via Predicate Modification (see Heim and Kratzer 1998). This line of reasoning is entirely parallel to Lasnik and Stowell's discussion (on p.707) of WCO-effects in restrictive relatives.

14. Note that the complex wh-phrase cannot be base-generated in the embedded specCP either. Given that it can only be inserted to check a clause-typing feature (i.e. [+Q]), and given that the embedded C°-head does not have the relevant matching feature (the embedded clause being noninterrogative), the complex wh-phrase cannot be base-generated in its specifier. Thanks to Howard Lasnik p.c. for raising this issue.

15. Fanselow and Mahajan (2000) and Fanselow and Ćavar (2001)—thanks to Benjamin Bruening p.c. for pointing out this paper to me—present some further complications of

this picture. First of all, it turns out that while all German speakers allow wh-copying constructions with PPs consisting of an R-pronoun and a preposition (e.g. *womit* 'with what,' lit. where-with), not all of them allow wh-copying with PPs containing non-R-wh-pronouns as in (12)a. This seems to suggest that for these speakers there is an additional morphophonological restriction on wh-copying, an issue I will not go into any further. Second, they point out that in some dialects what looks like a complex wh-phrase can occur in the embedded specCP, but only if the copy in the matrix specCP is simple. Consider a relevant example in (i).

(i) [Wen] denkst du [wen von den Studenten] man einladen sollte?
 who think you who of the students one invite should
 'Which of the students do you think we should invite?' [colloquial German]

Although an in-depth analysis of this construction is beyond the scope of this section, I would like to point out that an example such as the one in (i) could be analyzed by assuming that the PP *von den Studenten* 'of the students' has merged counter-cyclically with the lower copy of *wen* 'who' (see Lebeaux 1988, Stepanov 2001 on counter-cyclic merger of adverbs). That this is a promising route to take is suggested by the fact—also pointed out by Fanselow and Ćavar—that "regular" complex wh-phrases like *welches Schweinderl* 'which piggie' cannot partake in the construction exemplified in (i) (see (ii)). *Schweinderl* 'piggie' being the NP-complement of *welches* 'which,' it cannot be merged counter-cyclically.

(ii) * [Welches] denkst du [welches Schweinderl] er nehmen wird?
 which think you which piggy he take will
 INTENDED READING: 'Which piggy do you think he'll take?' [colloquial German]

16. A potential question raised at this point is how the Case-feature of complex wh-phrases gets checked. I assume that this is the result of an Agree-relation between the complex wh-phrase and the empty operator. Intuitively, the complex wh-phrase can only be linked to the movement chain of the empty operator (to form a derived chain) if their Case values are identical. Thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for raising this issue.

17. Many thanks to Marjo van Koppen for pointing out these data to me.

18. There is some variability in the judgments here. Not all speakers find examples like (15)b fully acceptable. All the speakers I have consulted share the intuition that there is a contrast between (15)a and (15)b, though. See Merchant (2001:95–96n6) for some remarks concerning idiolectal variation with respect to preposition stranding in Dutch.

19. Interestingly, Takami (1992) reports similar contrasts even for a full-fledged preposition stranding language like English. In contexts where preposition stranding is traditionally argued to be less felicitous (e.g. from adjunct PPs), complex wh-phrases are more acceptable than minimal ones. Consider the examples in (i) (Takami 1992:223).

(i) a. ?? What did you feel dizzy after?
 b. Which brand of cigarette did you feel dizzy after?

Moreover, Takami reports similar judgments for Danish, another preposition stranding language (p.230).

20. I owe this observation to Sjef Barbiers. Again, given the notoriously tricky judgments on preposition stranding in Dutch (see note 18) it is the relative contrast I am interested in here, more than the absolute judgments.

21. Note that the conclusion reached in this section remains essentially unaffected if Abels (2003:186–209) is correct in claiming that Dutch is a non-preposition stranding language, and that R-pronouns extract from the specifier position of PPs. In light of the data

in (14)—which Abels does not discuss—one would still have to claim that there is a null element (possibly a null R-pronoun in his theory) with operator-like behavior that can strand prepositions. I have argued that this element is present in wh-questions with complex wh-phrases as well.

One further consequence of these data is worth noting, especially in the broader context of this book. Given that "A language *L* will allow preposition-stranding under sluicing iff *L* allows preposition-stranding under regular wh-movement" (Merchant 2001:107), complex wh-phrases unlike minimal ones should be able to strand their preposition under sluicing. The examples in (i) and (ii) bear this out.

(i) A: Ed stond met iemand te praten. B: * Wie?
  Ed stood with someone to talk who
  'A: Ed was talking to someone. B: Who?'

(ii) A: Ed stond met een student te praten. B: Welke student?
  Ed stood with a student to talk which student
  'A: Ed was talking to a student. B: Which student?' [Dutch]

22. By "landing site" I mean "final or intermediate landing site" here: minimal wh-phrases move through specCP_2 to end up in specCP_1. See section 4.3.6 for a refinement, though.

23. Groos and Van Riemsdijk report the same judgments for German. See also Meinunger (1998) for a similar observation about English free relatives and Grosu (1994) for more general discussion of these "anti-pied-piping effects."

An important caveat is in order: I am only focusing on what Grosu and Landman (1998), following a long tradition, call the definite usage of free relatives, i.e., those that can be paraphrased by means of a definite expression. In their universal reading, free relatives are compatible with complex wh-phrases. This is shown in (i).

(i) a. I'll read whichever book you want me to read.
  b. Ik lees welk boek je ook maar wil.
  I read which book you PRT PRT want
  'I'll read whichever book you want.' [Dutch]

However, it is worth pointing out that both English and Dutch require extra lexical material in this case: English obligatorily adds the suffix *-ever* to the wh-item, while Dutch almost invariably uses the particle combination *ook maar*. This makes it not implausible that there is a structural difference between the two types of free relatives, i.e., that universal free relatives involve more functional structure than their definite counterparts, a conclusion that would accord well with the argument I develop in the main text (and see also note 24). See Grosu (1994) and Grosu and Landman (1998) for more in-depth discussion of free relatives.

24. Hoekstra (1993:18) makes the same observation for Frisian. Note that it is not the case that *of* 'if' is excluded from relative clauses altogether. See Hoekstra (1994) and Zwart (2000) for data showing that *of* 'if' can occur in headed relatives.

Interestingly, one of my informants points out that for him the example in (18)a is acceptable in the universal reading of the free relative. This ties in nicely with the discussion in note 23.

25. Given that doubly filled COMP phenomena in Frisian are a highly complex subject matter, I limit myself to embedded wh-questions here. For a broader overview of the data, I refer the reader to Hoekstra (1993).

26. It would lead me too far afield to go into the details of the functional WH approach here. See Dayal (2003) for insightful discussion.

27. The contribution can be found at http://linguistlist.org/issues/10/10–1870.html#1.

28. Thanks to Tanya Reinhart for discussing her views on this issue with me. I am following up on a suggestion made by her here.

29. Positing multiple, syntactically distinct lexical entries for one and the same lexical item is generally considered an unattractive move. Note, however, that the variation I am proposing boils down to whether or not the D°-head expresses its complement. Interestingly, this is also the type of variation one seems to find with regular pronouns. Specifically, while a form like *us* is generally analyzed as an NP-less DP, in phrases like *us linguists* the NP-complement is realized (see Noguchi 1995:37–43 for an overview of the literature on this construction).

30. Note that the approach presented here offers a handle on another property traditionally ascribed to the difference between D-linked and non-D-linked wh-phrases: the fact that the former can but the latter cannot extract from weak islands (see Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1990). Rizzi (2000) relates this fact to the presence or absence of an N-restriction in the moved wh-phrase. In a nutshell, D-linked wh-phrases allow their N-restriction to be interpreted in the left periphery (i.e. it does not undergo reconstruction). As a result, their movement chain has DP as its categorial type, and DPs can be linked to their trace via (nonlocal) binding rather than (local) Relativized Minimality, thus allowing for weak island violations. Non-D-linked wh-phrases on the other hand either have no N-restriction to begin with (e.g. *why*) or their N-restriction undergoes obligatory reconstruction (e.g. in the amount reading of *how many books*). As a result, they leave a QP-chain rather than a DP-chain. This means that nonlocal binding is not an option for them, and weak island sensitivity ensues. As far as I can see, Rizzi's account is fully compatible with the analysis of wh-movement I present in the main text.

31. This conclusion extends to cases where a VP is CLDed. Consider the example in (i), suggested to me by a reviewer.

(i) Zijn$_i$ promotie succesvol volbrengen, dat probeert iedere taalkundige$_i$.
his defense sucessfully accomplish that$_{DEM}$ tries every linguist
'Every linguist tries to get through his defense successfully.' [Dutch]

Here, the entire VP *zijn promotie succesvol volbrengen* 'to get through his defense successfully' is CLDed, and the VP-contained pronoun *zijn* 'his' is interpreted as a bound variable, bound by the subject-DP *iedere taalkundige* 'every linguist'. Under a Fox/Sauerland approach, this would be taken to indicate that there is an IP-internal copy of the left-peripheral VP in the c-command domain of the subject. As is shown in (ii), however, the verb *proberen* obligatorily selects a *to*-infinitive. Given that *te* 'to' is absent in (i), this suggests that the CLDed VP does not originate in the complement position of the verb *probeert* 'tries'.

(ii) Iedere taalkundige probeert zijn promotie succesvol *(te) volbrengen.
every linguist tries his defense successfully to accomplish
'Every linguist tries to get through his defense successfully.' [Dutch]

32. The precise landing site of the empty operator has been a matter of debate. For example, Mulder and Den Dikken (1991:306) argue that it moves into the specifier of the

projection hosting the matrix predicate. Nothing in what follows hinges on the exact landing site of the empty operator, though.

Chapter 5

1. Note that this does not mean that the sluiced wh-phrase is *not* focused. As will become clear in the next section, *wou* 'who' moves through the position targeted by *da* 'that,' and as a result can be said to be focused as well. (Thanks to a reviewer for raising this issue.)

2. As an English approximation of this, consider the questions in (i) and (ii), where the focal stress on the demonstrative pronoun has an effect comparable to the use of spading in Wambeek Dutch (thanks to Jason Merchant for bringing these data to my attention).

(i) Who's THAT true of?
(ii) Who does THAT hold of?

3. A reviewer objects that it is unlikely that focus features exist or drive a syntactic derivation, because (a) they are not morphological features, and (b) the question of whether a constituent is focused or not cannot be answered sentence-internally. Note, though, that the Gungbe facts discussed in Aboh (2003) suggest that focus *can* have an effect on the morphological outcome of a sentence. Moreover, whether or not a constituent can be elided can sometimes not be decided sentence-internally either (there has to be an appropriate antecedent), yet that doesn't mean that ellipsis cannot play a role in the syntactic derivation of a sentence (see the discussion that follows for detailed illustration of this). A position that seems to be intermediate between the reviewer's objection and the implementation adopted in the main text is to follow Rizzi (2004) in subsuming focus under the quantificational (or what I have been calling operator) properties of a sentence. As the scope of this discussion exceeds this chapter (or even book), however, I gloss over it in what follows.

Given that I am assuming a split CP-system consisting of two projections, one could wonder why $C°_2$ and not $C°_1$ bears the matching focus feature. Given that $C°_1$ is related to clause typing, however, it seems inappropriate as a bearer of a focus feature, as focus—unlike e.g. wh—does not have the ability to type a clause. Moreover, in their exploration of the left periphery in Italian and its dialects, Benincà and Poletto 2004 show that foci systematically target the lower half of the CP-domain, which in my proposal would translate as CP_2. In addition, focus constructions are typically characterized as operator/variable-dependencies (see, e.g., Rizzi 1997a). That, too, would suggest $C°_2$ is the most natural head for the focus feature. See also the comments I make at the end of section 4.2, where I liken CP_1 and CP_2 to ForceP and FocP, respectively.

4. I will have little or nothing to say about the internal structure of clefts in Dutch, mainly because the majority of that structure is deleted in spading anyway, and as a result choosing one structure over another would not have dramatic consequences for my analysis (though see note 10 here and note 10 in chapter 8 for a refinement). One (fairly standard) assumption I do make, though, is that the demonstrative occupies the matrix subject position, while the pivot occupies a predicate-like position lower in the clause, be it specFocP, specPredP, or even a position adjoined to the embedded CP. Even this assumption is not vital for the analysis, however. For relevant analyses of clefts in Germanic, see Merchant (1998), Svenonius (1998), and references cited there.

5. One aspect of the analysis of sluicing I will have nothing new to say about is why the finite verb does not raise to C° when the IP is sluiced in matrix clauses. See Merchant (2001:62–74) and Lasnik (1999a, 1999b, 2001c) for possible approaches, and see also Boeckx and Stjepanović (2001), Baltin (2002), and Van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2007) for relevant discussion.

6. Note that it is not the weak feature itself that causes the derivation to crash in the absence of deletion. Put differently, the fact that Y, the bearer of the weak feature, is outside of the ellipsis site in (12) does not pose any spell-out problems in Richards's system. It is a single-membered chain that can trivially be spelled out. (Thanks to a reviewer for asking me to clarify this issue.)

On the basis of data involving Japanese null relative operators, Richards (2001:196) makes the even stronger claim that when a checking relation involving weak features *can* undergo overt movement (e.g. because the tail of the movement chain has been elided), it *must* do so. He argues that this follows from a constraint very reminiscent of Pesetsky's (1989) Earliness Principle: "A feature must be checked as soon as possible after being introduced into the derivation" (Richards 2001:195).

7. The way I present it here, this derivation seems to involve look-ahead: C°_2 has to "know in advance" that its complement will be elided in order for its weak [+F]-feature to trigger overt movement. The look-ahead problem disappears, however, once I become more explicit about how to implement ellipsis (see also Merchant 2004). Following Merchant (2004), I assume that ellipsis should be implemented by means of a syntactic feature (which Merchant calls [E]). Given that [E] is present on C°_2, it "knows" that its complement will be elided. I discuss the [E]-feature more extensively in the next section.

8. A note on the chronology of the operations is in order: as Norvin Richards p.c. points out, there is no principle in his 2001 theory that would force the demonstrative to move to specCP_2 *prior* to the movement of the wh-phrase. Given that these two phrases move to check different features, the relevant principle calculating the locality of these movements (Attract Closest) is in each case blind for the other phrase. In the derivation sketched in the main text, it is the demonstrative pronoun that moves first, but the choice is fairly arbitrary. Specifically, the analysis would work equally well if the wh-phrase moved to specCP_2 before the demonstrative, in a canonically extending derivation (i.e. without Tucking In). Mainly for expository purposes, I will keep to the present derivation throughout the rest of the discussion. What is important, though, is the relative ordering of the demonstrative and the wh-phrase inside CP_2; i.e., the demonstrative has to precede the wh-phrase. This will become clear in the analysis of Frisian (chapter 6, section 6.4), where the wh-phrase strands a preposition in specCP_2 to the right of the demonstrative.

9. As a reviewer points out, Aboh and Pfau (2006) argue that wh-phrases do not participate in clause typing, a conclusion that seems to be incompatible with the analysis developed in the main text. It is unclear, however, if their conclusions carry over wholesale to the languages under investigation here. They argue that clause typing is taken care of in the left-peripheral projection Inter(rogative)P, while movement of wh-phrases is to the specifier of a lower projection (FocP) and is triggered by their quantificational or focus properties (but crucially not by the need to type the clause as a wh-question). In the languages that Aboh and Pfau discuss, the relatively low position of the wh-phrase can be witnessed through the fact that it is preceded by a complementizer (which, they argue, sits in Force°). As I have discussed in chapter 4, section 4.2, though, in the dialects I am considering, wh-phrases typically occur to the left both of the complementizer *of* 'if' and of the complementizer *dat* 'that'. This suggests that in these languages, wh-phrases do raise higher than specFocP, and accordingly that they can be involved in clause typing. Moreover, Aboh and Pfau show that in several West African and sign languages, wh-questions display a right-peripheral clause typing particle, which they take to be the head of InterP that has attracted its complement to its specifier. In the dialects I am considering, however, to the extent that there is such a particle (e.g. the complementizer *of* 'if' in embedded wh-questions) it is situated below the moved wh-phrase, thus suggesting once again that wh-phrases are also involved in clause typing. A reviewer points out that Dutch—and this also holds for the dialects discussed here—allows

the wh-phrase *wat* 'what' to be dropped in main clause interrogatives (see (i)), and that this might be taken as an indication that in this language, too, morphologically marked wh-phrases are not needed in typing a wh-question.

(i) Heb je nou gedaan?
have you PRT done
'What have you done?' [Dutch]

It is not clear, however, what the strength of this argument is, as this kind of wh-drop is only allowed in main clauses and only with the wh-phrase *wat* 'what'. I leave a full exploration of this phenomenon as a topic for further research.

10. As the representation in (18) makes clear, my analysis of spading has an important consequence for the analysis of clefts (see also note 4), i.e. the embedded clause in a cleft has to be dominated by IP. If it was situated higher than IP (or possibly even if it was adjoined to IP), it would survive the ellipsis process illustrated in (18). See also note 10 of chapter 8, where it is suggested that this might be a point of cross-linguistic variation. (Many thanks to a reviewer for having raised this issue.)

11. Note that, strictly speaking, the licensing requirements in (24)a are those of [E_S], i.e., the variant of the [E]-feature found in sluicing. Other elliptical constructions, such as VP-ellipsis, obviously have other licensing requirements. Given that I only discuss sluicing in this chapter, I abstract away from this refinement.

12. In fact, there are good reasons to think that the demonstrative pronoun does not move to specCP_2 in this structure. Under the plausible assumption—also entertained here; see section 5.2.4 for discussion—that an ellipsis site cannot contain any [+F]-marked material, the elided CP_2 simply cannot contain a [+F]-marked version of *da* 'that'.

13. A note on the (un)interpretability of the features involved: the derivation in (29) seems to suggest that the [+Q]-feature on the wh-phrase is interpretable. That means that, strictly speaking, in a derivation like the one in (26), it would be the wh-phrase in specCP_1 that checks the [+Q]-feature of both $C_1°$ and [E], rather than the [+Q]-feature of $C_1°$ checking the [+Q]-feature of [E] directly. Alternative implementations can be thought of, however. For example, one might assume—as Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) do—that in some cases uninterpretable features can be checked against other uninterpretable features. Or one could argue that in the structure in (29), the [E]-feature can check its [+Q]-feature against $C°_1$ in situ as a result of the movement chain of the minimal wh-phrase through specCP_2 and onto specCP_1 (see in this respect Rizzi 1997a:317 on the absence of *do*-support in subject-wh-questions in English).

14. Many thanks to Crit Cremers for his help with this section.

15. This is also the analysis of Kennedy and Merchant (2000a). Note that under the [E]-feature approach to ellipsis, this cannot be quite right, as it would be unclear how [E] can elide only a segment of the complement of the head on which it resides. The analysis in (34) will suffice for my purposes here, though.

16. Following Merchant (2001:27), I am using primes to indicate that -type shifting has taken place.

17. As Merchant points out, this is a simplification. It will suffice for my purposes here, though.

18. I am using English for the semantic representations so as to avoid the use of glosses.

19. Anticipating somewhat the discussion that follows, I have existentially bound the trace left by wh-movement.

20. This means that on the whole, the two types of clefts behave very much the same way. Specifically, I have found no diverging behavior between them with respect to the following criteria: exhaustivity implicature, (non)agreement of the copula with the pivot in

the matrix clause, case of the pivot, connectivity effects, restrictions on the category of the pivot, modification of the pivot, subextraction out of the pivot, extraction of the pivot out of weak islands, verbal agreement in the embedded clause, and anaphor binding in the embedded clause. I also take this to be a strong indication that the examples containing *da* 'that' are indeed full-fledged clefts and not some other construction that is only superficially similar to clefts.

21. Another way to make the same point is to examine the possibility of using the two types of clefts as what Prince (1978) calls "informative-presupposition *it*-clefts," i.e. clefts that are used to inform the speaker of information he or she was not previously aware of. Consider an example in (i) (Prince 1978:898).

(i) It was just about 50 years ago that Henry Ford gave us the weekend.

Given that the information expressed in the embedded clause is in no way anaphoric or dependent on the preceding discourse (in fact, the sentence in (i) occurs discourse-initially), one would expect *da* 'that' not to occur in this type of cleft. This prediction is confirmed in (ii).

(ii) { 't / # Dad } is vanduig 50 juir gelejen dat Albert I gesterven is.
{ it / that$_{DEM}$ } is today 50 years ago that$_{C°}$ Albert I died is
'It was 50 years ago today that King Albert the First died.' [Wambeek Dutch]

22. Note that I am using this notion in a stricter sense than Delin (1992). Whereas she takes it to mean that the embedded clause in the cleft has "prior existence," whether in this discourse or not, I explicitly take it to refer back to the current discourse.

It is worth pointing out that this line of reasoning accords well with Svenonius's (1998:182–183) discussion of *it*-clefts in English. He argues that the semantic contribution of the subject pronoun *it* is to anchor the embedded CP to the real world as a presupposition. Transferred to my data, this would mean that while *da* 'that' represents the predicate ANAPHORIC, *'t* 'it' is linked to the PRESUPPOSED-predicate.

23. As Winkler (2003:80–119) shows, the precise conditions on deaccenting might be more complicated than is indicated here. The characterization given in the main text will suffice for my purposes here, though.

24. Strictly speaking, this example shows that the entailment relation holds even if *da* 'that' has not focus-moved out of the IP. Given that this is a stricter requirement than the one needed in (49)–(50), however, the example represents strong evidence in favor of the postulated entailment relation.

25. There is one characteristic of spading I have said nothing about so far. Recall from note 4 in chapter 3 that not all native speakers of spading dialects allow this construction to occur in embedded clauses. Although I have no definitive answer to offer here, my intuition is that the surprise-reading induced by spading can only be speaker-oriented for this group of speakers. This rules out embedded spading, as the surprise-reading would there be attributed to the matrix subject.

26. The analysis presented here is reminiscent of the Uniformity Corollary on Adjunction proposed by Takahashi (1994) and further developed by Ochi (1999) (thanks to Howard Lasnik p.c. for pointing this out to me). Although I will leave a full comparison of this principle and the account developed in the main text as a topic for further research, it is worth looking briefly at Lasnik and Park's (2003) analysis of the ban on extraction out of A-moved subjects, as it is based on Ochi (1999). Their account bears an interesting similarity to mine, but there are also a number of noticeable differences. First, while they are concerned with the combination of A- and Ā-movement, I am dealing with a single Ā-chain. Second, they claim that in order to rescue a nonuniform chain from ungrammaticality, *all* the chain links have to

be deleted. As evidence in favor of this proposal, they present pseudogapping examples such as the one in (i).

(i) ?* Who will Bill select a painting of, and who$_i$ will Susan [a photograph of t$_i$] [$_{VP}$ *e*]?

In the second conjunct, the DP *a photograph of who* has been extracted out of the elided VP (indicated here as [$_{VP}$ *e*]), after which the wh-phrase *who* is subextracted from this DP. Given that the resulting example is ungrammatical, Lasnik and Park argue that the highest copy of *a photograph of who* should have been deleted as well. Note, however, that the unacceptability of this example follows from my proposal as well, under the assumption that the overt DP *a photograph of t*$_i$ is not the only copy of *a photograph of who* that is external to the ellipsis site. Specifically, assume that on its way out of the VP, this DP has an intermediate landing somewhere above VP. (See Johnson 1996 for evidence that pseudogapping remnants can move fairly high and hence arguably might leave such a copy, and see also chapter 7 here, section 7.3.2, for related discussion.) This would mean that eliding the VP in the example in (i) does not have the effect of rescuing the nonuniform chain, as there would still be (at least) two copies of *a photograph of who* external to the VP. More generally, while my analysis can account both for the swiping data discussed in the main text and for examples such as (i), Lasnik and Park's analysis of (i) seems to predict that swiping should be impossible. Moreover, the specific spell-out mechanism they propose (incorrectly) rules out the possibility of remnant movement (see in this respect Nunes 2004:sec. 1.6).

Note that what I am presenting here can be seen as the PF-counterpart of the deletion-of-chain-links mechanism Chomsky (1995:91) postulates to ensure Chain Uniformity at LF. It is also worth pointing out that the structure in (65) does not lead to a violation of Chain Uniformity at LF, as the category mismatches discussed here arguably do not create an illegitimate LF-object.

Chapter 6

1. One caveat is in order here. Whereas the spading example *Wa da?* ('What?,' lit. what that$_{DEM}$) is allowed in the Dutch spading dialects, its Frisian counterpart is not: **Wat dat?* ('What?' lit. what that$_{DEM}$). However, Hoekstra (1993:14–15) argues that Frisian *wat* 'what' is in fact not a simple wh-phrase but a DP-modifier with an empty N-head (which can also be overtly realized as *ding* 'thing' or *guod* 'stuff'). Under such an analysis, one would expect *wat* 'what' to pattern with complex wh-phrases like *hokker boek* 'which book' rather than with minimal ones like *wa* 'who'. Given that both *wat* 'what' and *hokker boek* 'which book' are disallowed in spading, this expectation is borne out.

2. Abels (2003:189–191) contests the conclusion Hoekstra (1995) draws from (7) and (8), on the grounds that while *oer* 'over' in the Frisian example is a clearly functional preposition, *about* in the English one is not. See Hoekstra (1991), however, for more examples, many of which escape Abels's objection and all of which show the pattern displayed in (7)–(8).

3. I will have nothing further to say about what causes the contrast between (8)a and (8)b, or between (7) and (8). See in this respect Hoekstra (1991), who shows these facts to be part of a larger generalization concerning the possibility to stress prepositions and particles in Frisian, English, and Dutch, where the first language in each case occupies an intermediate position between the other two.

4. The fact that the pied-piping option is more marked is due to the more general fact that preposition stranding is preferred to pied-piping in Frisian; see Hoekstra (1990).

5. Out of the six Frisian speakers I consulted, four reported that the reply in (11)Bb is more acceptable than that in (11)Ba. One even found the reply in (11)Bb fully grammatical. Put differently, while the reply in (11)Ba was given an average of 5 on a scale of 1 to 5 (i.e. all speakers finding the example fully ungrammatical), the reply in (11)Bb received an average of 3.5.

As pointed out by Jason Merchant p.c., the judgment task might have been influenced here by the presence of an overt antecedent for the swiped PP. It should be noted, though, that it is still possible to construct an antecedent that does not contain the PP along the lines sketched in chapter 3, section 3.3.4. Moreover, the effect of an overt antecedent, though present, seems to be less strong in Frisian than it is in English, a contrast for which I have no account at this point.

6. Interestingly, native speakers of the Dutch spading dialects pattern largely with the second group of Frisian speakers, albeit with respect to R-pronouns. Recall from chapter 4 that R-pronouns are the only type of minimal wh-phrase that can strand their preposition in Dutch (and its dialects). As the example in (i) shows, however, such a stranded preposition cannot be stressed.

(i) * Wui guit daunen boek EUVER?
where goes that book about [Wambeek Dutch]

This means that R-pronouns raise the same issue for the Dutch spading dialects as non-R bare wh-pronouns do for Frisian. The outcome is different, though. Out of the eleven speakers I consulted, only one found a combination of spading and swiping with R-pronouns fairly acceptable. I have no account for why the Dutch spading dialects pattern differently from Frisian in this respect.

(ii) A: Jef ei nen boek geschreven.
Jeff has a book written

B: * Wui dad euver?
where that_{DEM} about [Wambeek Dutch]

The general picture sketched here is complicated somewhat by the fact that in both Frisian and in Dutch, so-called lexical or relational prepositions *can* bear stress when stranded. The problem is that they generally tend to disallow pied-piping to begin with (Gussenhoven 1984:178–179) and that when they are pied-piped, they tend to trigger the occurrence of non-R wh-pronouns. The interaction between these lexical prepositions, swiping, and spading in both Frisian and Dutch is an issue I hope to return to in future research.

Chapter 7

1. Interestingly, though, as Henk Wolf p.c. points out to me, this generalization does not hold for all Frisian speakers. Some of them can use the complementizer *at* in doubly filled COMP contexts instead of *(da)t*. As expected by my account, this form never shows up in spading.

2. One possible explanation that comes to mind is that as a result of the adjunction, the operator feature of the minimal wh-phrase becomes too deeply embedded and hence the entire phrase starts to behave like a nonoperator. I owe this suggestion to Jason Merchant p.c.

3. The analysis of Japanese (and Korean) sluicing as pseudosluicing is still a controversial issue in Japanese (and Korean) linguistics (see Merchant 2006a for a quick overview). There does seem to be a consensus, though, that at least some of the data should be analyzed in this way.

4. All the Japanese examples in this section are taken from Merchant (1998).

5. Note also that it would not suffice to say that given that the subject of the cleft is overt in spading (i.e. the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'), it is only the property in (6)b that is causing the problem. Recall that the Dutch spading dialects have two ways of forming a cleft. Either the pronoun in the matrix clause is the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that' or it is the personal pronoun '*t* 'it'. If spading is indeed the result of (exceptional) omission of the copula, it should be possible to do spading with a personal pronoun rather than a demonstrative. As (i) shows, however, this is not the case.

(i) A: 'k Em iemand gezien. B: * Wou 't?
I have someone seen who it [Wambeek Dutch]

6. The cause of the ungrammaticality of the example in (8) is the lack of an overt complementizer following the embedded wh-phrase (Wambeek Dutch being an obligatorily doubly filled COMP dialect). Compare the example in (8) with the one in (i). This means that if one nonetheless wishes to pursue an analysis of spading as pseudosluicing, another ad hoc rule would have to be postulated to delete the complementizer in embedded spading.

(i) Iemand eit daunen boek gelezen, mo kweet nie wou da da was.
someone has that book read but I.know not who that_{C° that_{DEM} was
Someone read that book, but I don't know who it was. [Wambeek Dutch]

Note, incidentally, that the fact that there is no complementizer in spading is part of the more general observation that doubly filled COMP effects are absent under sluicing (Merchant 2001:74–82). Just like the (possibly related) bleeding effect of sluicing on head movement (see chapter 5, note 5), though, this is an aspect of the analysis of sluicing that I will have nothing new to say about. See Baltin (2007) for an account of these data that as far as I can see is compatible with the analysis I present in the main text.

7. Strictly speaking, Ross's original claim was that sluicing *improves* island violations, rather than completely eliminating them (Ross 1969:276–277). Later authors have strengthened this claim, however. See Merchant (2001:chap. 3) for discussion and references.

8. As a reviewer has pointed out, this implies that Merchant's definition of pseudosluicing has to be revised such that it excludes spading but still includes the Japanese and Korean data. Although there are several possible routes to take, the reformulation in (i) would have the desired result.

(i) A pseudosluice is an elliptical construction that resembles a sluice in having only a wh-XP as remnant, but (a) has the structure of a cleft, not of a regular wh-question, and (b) has not undergone clausal ellipsis.

9. In a footnote, Kim suggests that the specifier he postulates might be the landing site of Heavy NP-shift and Right-Node-Raising (Kim 1997:168n24). Without further argumentation, the success of this hypothesis is difficult to evaluate.

10. Note that this example also violates the Subject Island Condition. The same judgments hold for PPs extraposed from object position, however.

11. An option that would in principle still be open would be to assume that the PF-deletion of TP somehow rescues the violation incurred by the lack of string vacuity of the rightward movement operation. As Kim does not mention this option, I will not explore it further here.

12. I want to thank Jason Merchant for his help in constructing this example.

13. Data such as those in (35) raise a second problem. Given that there are two ways the strong feature of the subject can be checked (movement or ellipsis), examples such as those in (i) and (ii) should at least be optionally available. In light of this, Kim (1997:172) claims:

"I suggest that the derivations in [(i) and (ii)] are ruled out by the licensing condition on Sluicing: the sluiced site must be licensed by both [+WH] and [+focus] features agreeing with their specifiers, and the sluiced remnant must be licensed by participating in these agreements." This seems to suggest that in order for a subject to be extracted out of a sluiced TP, it has to bear either a [+wh]- or a [+F]-feature. Note that no independent motivation is given for this restriction, and that it does not seem to play a role in any other elliptical construction.

(i) * Mary bought a present. I wonder who she [$_{TP}$ *e*] for.
(ii) * Mary bought something. I wonder what she [$_{TP}$ *e*].

14. A variant of Kim's analysis can be found in Hasegawa (2007). He argues that the wh-phrase in a swiping example first undergoes wh-movement to specCP, then the PP (containing only the stranded preposition) is extraposed, and finally IP is deleted. Given that several of the problems raised in the main text for Kim's account are applicable to Hasegawa's as well, I do not treat it separately here.

15. Recall from note 21 in chapter 3 that not all native speakers of English allow swiping in multiple sluicing to begin with (see esp. Merchant 2002:315n13 in this respect). The four speakers I consulted all agreed with Richards, though. While their judgments on (37)a ranged from "perfect" to "fairly acceptable" (i.e. it received an average of 1.75 on a scale of 1 to 5), the examples in (37)b–e were unanimously starred. See also Lasnik (2006) for an alternative account of multiple sluicing in English.

16. Note, incidentally, that this means that a wh-phrase moving to specCP$_1$ via specCP$_2$ would create a single movement chain in which two strong features are being checked, a constellation ruled out under Richards's theory (essentially, because PF would receive conflicting instructions as to which copy of the chain to spell out). As Richards himself notes, however, the ban on movement chains checking more than one strong feature is probably too strict as it stands (Richards 2001:188–191). I leave this as a topic for further research.

17. Note, though, that in many languages, *how much* and *how many* are monomorphemic. Thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for pointing this out to me.

18. In this respect, it is also interesting to observe that examples such as the one in (44)c are generally considered to be less acceptable than those in (44)a and (44)b (Merchant 2002:294–295). Given that *how many* can also easily be analyzed as a concealed complex wh-phrase in which the head noun (i.e. the N-restriction) has been elided (see also note 20 in chapter 3), it should come as no surprise that this expression is only marginally acceptable in swiping.

Note that by the same token, these wh-phrases are also expected to occur in spading. This prediction is borne out: both *uu lang* 'how long' and *uu veel* 'how much'/'how many' can occur in spading, subject to the same type of interspeaker variation as the one attested for English swiping.

See in this respect also Tsai's (1994:76–93) related discussion on the different behavior of *how much* and *how many pounds* in English wh-in-situ.

19. A reviewer has raised the question of how the analysis outlined in chapter 5 would handle the data in (47). In particular, as Den Dikken and Giannakidou (2002) have shown, aggressively non-D-linked wh-phrases such as those in (47) are polarity-sensitive and have to be c-commanded by a question operator or some other nonveridical operator at S-structure. If they are in specCP$_1$, it is not clear if this requirement is met. As the polarity-sensitivity of aggressively non-D-linked wh-phrases is too involved an issue to venture into very deeply here, I have to limit myself to a brief and sketchy account. Specifically, one could assume that there is an even higher head in the left periphery that is responsible for licensing these elements. In embedded clauses, this head would either be absent or the wh-phrases would have moved past it (see Den Dikken and Giannakidou (2002) for discussion of licensing

differences between main and embedded aggressively non-D-linked wh-phrases and for the claim that embedded wh-phrases move higher than matrix ones). See also Sprouse (2005) for related discussion.

20. A similar type of argument is provided by examples such as B's reply in (i), which—as Jason Merchant p.c. informs me—are accepted by many speakers (see also Hartman 2007:57 for additional examples).

(i) A: She was talking.
B: Really? Who do you think with?

In this example, the preposition appears to have been stranded in the intermediate specCP. Again, the fact that independent lexical items intervene between the wh-phrase and the preposition makes an account in terms of PP-internal head movement highly unlikely. I leave a full exploration of examples such as those in (iB) as a topic for further research.

21. It is worth pointing out that Lasnik and Sobin's (2000) account for the *who*/*whom* alternation breaks down in sluicing contexts. Specifically, while the contrast in (i) (from Levin 1982) seems to suggest that the elided IP is still visible for their "Extended Rule" (which roughly states that *whom* is used when it is not the subject of the nearest verb; see Lasnik and Sobin 2000:359 for details) to apply, the same rule would on the same grounds predict *whom* to be possible in the example in (54)a as well.

(i) a. Someone kissed Janet, but I don't remember who(*m).
b. Janet kissed someone, but I don't remember who(?m).

22. The analysis presented in Hartman (2007) is identical to the one found in Hartman and Ai (2007).

23. Hartman also provides an analysis for the construction exemplified in (i) (Hartman 2007:48).

(i) John has a job, but he won't tell me what doing.

He argues that in this construction, the verbal form *doing* is pied-piped by the wh-phrase to specFocP and stranded there while the wh-phrase moves on to specForceP. Given that I find his analysis convincing and given that it does not appear to be incompatible with my account of swiping in any way, I leave it undiscussed here. See the original article for details.

24. The judgments in (61) and (62) are Hartman's. Note that the difference in judgment between (61) and (62) shows that even though PP-extraction is independently degraded in this context, there is still a discernible additional degradation effect when swiping is added to the mix. This suggests that at least part of the problem in (61) arises from the combination of swiping and VP-ellipsis.

25. See http://www.cheapassgamer.com/forums/showthread.php?t=6896.

Chapter 8

1. Spading also occurs in Serbo-Croatian (Boban Arsenijevic p.c.) and—to a limited extent—in Czech (Milan Rezac p.c., Jakub Dotlačil p.c., R. Simik p.c.). I hope to return to an in-depth, cross-linguistic analysis of spading in future research.

2. Note that in French, the demonstrative pronoun (*ça*) is not homophonous to the complementizer that—in some varieties—is used in doubly filled COMP filter violating contexts (i.e. *que*).

3. Thanks to Máire Noonan p.c. and Mélanie Jouitteau p.c. (via Milan Rezac) for pointing this out to me.

4. Many thanks to Øystein Nilsen for his help with the Eastern Norwegian data.

5. For one, it raises the problem of acquisition: how does the child learning Eastern Norwegian know whether a wh-phrase like *hvem* 'who' is to be grouped with simple or complex ones? Clearly, it needs to have more triggers than merely the absence of such wh-phrases in spading. For example, one would expect Eastern Norwegian simple wh-phrases to behave differently from their (dialect) Dutch, Frisian, or English counterparts with respect to the criteria discussed in chapter 4. I leave this as a topic for further research. (Thanks to a reviewer for bringing it up.)

6. Interestingly, this reading of *how* is also present in the standard Dutch equivalent of spading (see note 1 of chapter 3). In the expression *Hoe dat zo?* 'How come?' (lit. how that$_{\text{DEM}}$ so), the wh-word *hoe* does not ask for a means but rather for a cause or reason. The same holds for *how* in expressions like *How so?* or *How come?* (Thanks to a reviewer for drawing my attention to this.)

7. The other one is what he calls "style *how*." I have been unable to ascertain whether this use of *how* can also occur in (spading in) Eastern Norwegian.

8. With respect to *hvorfor* 'why' the situation is more complicated, as it does appear to be compatible with a combination of *ikke* 'not' and *det* 'that' (in that order), in spite of the fact that clefts with *hvorfor* 'why' as their pivot are not compatible with negation. I assume this might be related to the fact that in English, too, *why* is the only wh-phrase that can be modified by negation (see Merchant 2006b), although the issue clearly needs further looking into.

9. One possible way to think of this is to assume that with the adjoining of *ellers* 'else' to the wh-phrase, the operator feature of *ellers* 'else' becomes too deeply embedded and hence inaccessible, and the whole phrase starts to behave like a nonoperator. See in this respect also note 2 of chapter 7.

10. One line of analysis that comes to mind, however (especially in light of note 10 of chapter 5), is that in Eastern Norwegian the embedded clause in the cleft is situated higher in the structure than it is in Dutch or Frisian. In particular, suppose that it is adjoined to IP, and that this optionally allows it to escape IP-deletion. That would yield precisely the data pattern I laid out in the main text.

11. As was pointed out to me by Henk van Riemsdijk p.c. and Martin Salzmann p.c., this construction occurs in German as well. Moreover, as Howard Lasnik p.c. informs me, to a certain extent it is attested in English as well. See the dialogue in (i).

(i) A: John didn't do it. B: Well who then?

12. Jan-Wouter Zwart p.c. informs me that this does not hold for the *dan*-construction in the dialect of Groningen; i.e., it disallows complex wh-phrases. Moreover, the stress facts exemplified in (15) also do not hold for this dialect: it is the temporal adverb that receives main stress, not the wh-phrase (a fact that—as Øystein Nilsen p.c. has pointed out to me—also holds for the Norwegian *da* 'then'-construction). This seems to suggest that not all constructions with *then* are alike. Some of them might receive an analysis along the lines of the one I have developed for spading. I leave this issue open here.

13. The judgment on the left-most occurrence of *exactly* in (21) is based on Merchant's (2002:304) example, quoted as (43)b in chapter 7. As both Howard Lasnik p.c. and Jason Merchant p.c. have informed me, however, a full star seems to be too strong a judgment here. See Van Craenenbroeck (2005a, 2005b) for discussion.

14. As a reviewer pointed out, the same observation holds for the Standard Dutch equivalent to spading discussed in note 1 of chapter 3:

(i)	Hoe	dat	zo	allemaal?
	how	that$_{\text{DEM}}$	so	all
	'How come?'			

(ii) Hoe dat zo precies?
how that$_{DEM}$ so exactly
'How come exactly?' [Dutch]

This further strengthens the parallelism between spading and *hoezo* 'How come?' (lit. how.so).

Chapter 9

1. Note that this is by no means an innocuous assumption, as I have shown extensively in chapter 5 that a spading antecedent need not contain a cleft. For example, it is unclear how and where the IP-proform would find a cleft antecedent in an example such as (iB).

(i) A: Jef eid iemand gezien.
Jeff has someone seen
'Jeff saw someone.'

B: Wou da?
who that$_{DEM}$
'Who?' [Wambeek Dutch]

2. Note that in principle, the LF-copy approach to ellipsis (see note 3 of chapter 1) *does* predict that a pro_{IP} with a cleft as antecedent behaves like a cleft syntactically. Given that this line of approach assumes that at LF the antecedent of the proform is copied into it, the proform becomes syntactically and semantically indistiguishable from its antecedent at this level of representation. As far as spading is concerned, however, LF-copy is of no help. Recall from note 1 here that a spading antecedent need not contain a cleft. Copying in the antecedent in such examples would be insufficient to account for the similarities between clefts and spading.

3. At this point, one could in principle argue that while swiping and spading should be given a PF-deletion account, "regular" instances of sluicing could still receive a proform analysis (see also note 23 of chapter 11, on Winkler's 2003 hybrid account of VP-ellipsis). However, not only is such a nonunified account of sluicing theoretically unappealing but the PF-deletion analysis of "regular" instances of sluicing is also explicitly argued for by Merchant (2001).

4. Needless to say, it remains to be seen to what extent the argumentation developed here carries over to other languages. It might well be that there are languages in which CP_1 and CP_2 are conflated into one single C°-projection, or conversely, in which more than two C°-projections are made use of (for general discussion of this issue, see Thraínsson 1996). What should be clear, though, is that the proposal I have outlined raises very specific predictions about the clustering of properties one expects to find in such languages. Thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. for raising this issue.

5. The importance of DP-internal complexity might even extend beyond the domain of wh-movement. See in this respect Mortensen (2003) on copy reflexives. (Thanks to Andrew Nevins p.c. for drawing my attention to this parallel.)

Chapter 11

1. Although SDRs have been amply noted in the dialectological literature (see Ryckeboer 1986, 1998 for discussion and references), there are no theoretical analyses of this construction to date. Haegeman (1995:160, 2002:181) briefly mentions SDRs for the dialect of Lapscheure (West Flanders), but assumes without discussion that they involve VP-ellipsis with concomitant *do*-support.

2. Haegeman (2002:181) presents an example from the dialect of Lapscheure (West Flanders) in which a negative SDR is used to contradict a preceding negative statement. Given Haegeman's characterization of SDRs in Lapscheure Dutch as "archaic and nonproductive" (Haegeman 2002:181), however, it is clear that this is a very marginal pattern.

3. The results of this questionnaire are reported in Ryckeboer (1986, 1998).

4. Note also that the judgments reported in (4) hold both for affirmative and for negative SDRs.

A diachronic and synchronic caveat is in order. In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Dutch, SDRs occurred in three types of constructions: short contradictory replies (as discussed in the main text), tag questions, and short questions expressing surprise. The latter two are exemplified by the West Flemish examples in (i) and (ii) (from De Bo 1873:243).

(i) Dit is immers vremd, en doet het niet?
this is after.all strange NEG does it not
'After all, this is strange, isn't it?'

(ii) A: Zij gaat trouwen. B: Doet ze?
she goes marry$_{\text{INF}}$ does she
'A: She's getting married. B: Is she?!'

In present-day dialects, relics can sometimes be found of this slightly wider distribution. For example, my informant from Izenberge accepts examples like the one in (ii) and finds the use of SDRs as tag questions not wholly deviant, while my informant from Kleit accepts SDRs as tag questions and rates their use as surprise questions as "3–4" on a scale of 1 to 5. Given that Ryckeboer (1986) has already concluded, on the basis of the 1981 dialect survey I have mentioned, that the use of SDRs as tag questions is near-extinct and their use as surprise questions "duidelijk verouderd…en sterk gemarkeerd" ("clearly archaic…and strongly marked"; my translation) (Ryckeboer 1986:327), I will not discuss examples like the ones in (i) and (ii) in the rest of this chapter.

5. The first of these two differences is often obscured in West and East Flemish dialects, as many of them display independent variation in *there*-expletive constructions. Specifically, in subject-initial *there*-sentences they use (some dialects obligatorily, some optionally) *'t* 'it' instead of *d'r* 'there', even in nonelliptical contexts. Consider an example from the dialect of Kleit in (i).

(i) 't Staan twee mannen in de lochtink.
it stand$_{\text{PL}}$ two men in the garden
'There are two men standing in the garden.' [Kleit Dutch]

This variation does not affect the argument I make in the main text, though. First, those dialects that allow for a choice between *'t* 'it' and *d'r* 'there' in nonelliptical *there*-sentences lose this choice in SDRs and pattern with the Wambeek Dutch data in (6). Second, all dialects obligatorily display third person singular agreement in SDRs, regardless of the number of the associate DP in the antecedent clause. That is, even in the dialect of Kleit, the only possible SDR to the example in (i) is the one in (ii)a, not the one in (ii)b.

(ii) a. 't En doet. b. * 't En doen
it NEG does it NEG do$_{\text{PL}}$
'No, there aren't.'

6. The only exception I know of to this generalization is the verb *zullen* 'will', which is sometimes said to occur in SDRs. Ryckeboer (1986:32800) mentions one example from 1884

from the dialect of Ijzendijke, and two dialect grammars from the dialect of Aalst (East Flanders) mention this possibility as well (Colinet 1896:197, Vanacker 1948:107). None of my informants allow for it, though. The 1981 questionnaire mentioned earlier contains no antecedent clauses with *zullen* 'will' and hence is unrevealing in this respect.

7. This is also reported for the dialect of Lapscheure (West Flanders) by Haegeman (1995:160, 2002:181).

8. The judgment seems to improve when there is a substantial pause and intonation break between *nieje* 'no' and the SDR. Maybe that explains why not all informants gave the sentence a full star: on a scale of 1 to 5 (where 1 is 'OK' and 5 is '*'; see chapter 1) this example received an average score of 4.28. This slight variability in judgments is also reflected in the 1981 questionnaire on SDRs. Out of the 145 informants, six use the word for 'no' in combination with SDRs. It should be noted, though, that none of these informants uses it consistently (three of them use it only once) and that for two of these informants, a second informant from the same place does not use 'no' in combination with SDRs at all.

9. The combination of SDRs with high adverbs is not allowed by all speakers I have consulted. Some disallow adverbs altogether. I have no account for this variation. Note also that there is no intonation break between the verb and the adverb in B's reply in (27); i.e. it is not the case that only those adverbs can be combined with SDRs that can be inserted as parentheticals (thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. for raising this issue).

10. Note that if the range of the universal quantifier *iederiejn* 'everybody' is contextually restricted to a specific set of people, the reply *z'en duun* 'they.NEG do_{PL}' would be felicitous in the dialogue in (31).

The SDR-subject cannot be a clitic pronoun either. This is arguably due to the fact that it occupies the first position in a V2-clause (i.e. the SDR) and that clitics do not count for V2-considerations (as is corroborated by the fact that the negative clitic *en* does not lead to a violation of the V2-requirement in negative SDRs). Note that I am assuming here that Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) tripartition of the pronominal system into clitics, weak pronouns, and strong pronouns is applicable to Dutch dialects as well. See Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2000) for discussion.

11. The deviance of R-expressions as SDR-subjects (see (32)Bc) is also reported by Haegeman (1995:160).

Due to these severe restrictions on the subject in SDRs, it is impossible to test another characteristic of VP-ellipsis, namely, the existence of sloppy readings. However, one might wonder how revealing such a test would have been had it been possible, given that sloppy readings are attested in a variety of constructions, many of them nonelliptical (for an overview see Hobbs and Kehler 1997).

12. See Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002b, 2002c) for general discussion and analyses of pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects, and see also chapters 13 and 15 for further discussion directly related to the issues relevant here.

13. Note that the coreferentiality requirement illustrated in (30)–(31) holds for these examples as well.

14. Some traces of this development can also be found in the dialects I am discussing: my informant from Kleit reports that in affirmative SDRs he has a choice as to whether to use *'t* 'it' or a fully specified personal pronoun as SDR-subject.

15. That the wh-phrase has actually been moved (rather than base-generated outside of the ellipsis site) is suggested by the fact that it obeys island constraints. See Johnson (1996) for discussion.

16. As discussed by Schuyler (2002) and Merchant (2008b), wh-movement out of a VP-ellipsis site is subject to certain—as yet ill-understood—restrictions. Schuyler (2002:18) phrases the relevant constraint as follows: "For A' extraction out of the site of VPE," i.e.

VP-ellipsis, "to be licensed, there must be a contrastively focused expression in the c-command domain of the extracted phrase." Note that this requirement is met in the case of SDRs, as the polarity of the clause is always contrastively focused in this construction (see chapter 12 for discussion). In other words, the ungrammaticality of (36)B is not due to independent restrictions on wh-extraction out of a VP-ellipsis site. This is further corroborated by the fact that the English translation of (36)B is well formed.

17. See also Johnson (1996) for extensive discussion of these issues.

18. Note that the LF-copy theory of VP-ellipsis (Lobeck 1995; see also note 3 of chapter 1 and note 2 of chapter 9) could offer a way out here, if it assumes that the agreement on the auxiliary is determined at LF, after LF-copying of the antecedent-VP into the null proform.

López (1995), who defends a proform-analysis of VP-ellipsis, discusses examples comparable to the ones in (41) but does not seem to consider them problematic for his approach. He suggests (107) that the auxiliary agrees with the VP-proform. As I indicated in the main text, it is unclear to me how this would work.

19. There are various ways this can be implemented. For example, *there* can be analyzed as some sort of placeholder for the subject with which it forms a derived chain (Chomsky 1981, 1995) or it can be seen as a propredicate that takes the associate DP as its subject (Moro 1997). Which implementation is chosen is irrelevant for the point developed here. See also note 7 of chapter 13.

20. There are some exceptions to this, but they are tangential to the argument developed here. See Barbiers and Rooryck (1998) for discussion.

21. A fifth argument that is often raised in this respect are so-called missing antecedent phenomena (see Bresnan 1971, Grinder and Postal 1971, Hankamer and Sag 1976, Sag and Hankamer 1984, Sag 1979, 1980). Consider the contrast in (i) (from Sag 1980:317).

(i) a. Jorge has never ridden a camel, but Ivan has [*e*], and it stank terribly.
b. *Jorge has never ridden a camel, but Ivan has done it, and it stank terribly.

The example in (i)b illustrates that the overt VP-proform *done it* is not able to provide an appropriate antecedent for the pronoun *it* in the final clause. The elided VP in (i)a is. This suggests that the ellipsis site in this example contains more internal structure than a mere proform. It hosts an elided version of the indefinite DP *a camel,* which acts as antecedent for the pronoun *it*. There are two reasons why I do not mention this argument in the main text. First, judgments on data such those in (i) are notoriously unstable, as the antecedent for the pronoun can be fairly easily accommodated, even in cases such as (i)b (see in this respect also Williams 1977b:693–694). Second, in the dialects I am considering, the deviance of missing antecedent phenomena with constructions containing an overt proform seems to be even smaller than in English. Put differently, my informants could easily find an antecedent for the pronoun in dialect Dutch counterparts of examples such as the one in (i)b, thus rendering the test uninformative.

22. See Johnson (1996), though, for an analysis of this example that nevertheless involves parallelism.

23. The account developed by Williams (1977a) occupies an intermediate position in this debate. He argues explicitly against PF-deletion analyses of VP-ellipsis, but he assumes that the ellipsis site is not completely deprived of internal structure. On the contrary, the gap in a VP-ellipsis example contains the complete structure of the missing VP, but all the terminal nodes in this structure are occupied by empty, anaphoric elements (represented by deltas in Williams's account). This structure is interpreted at LF, by copying the LF-representation of the antecedent VP onto the empty VP. Although this approach is able to overcome some of the objections raised against proform-theories in the main text, it is not without its problems either. First of all, as Williams (1977a:105n3) himself acknowledges, his account offers no

solution for the problem raised by ACD-constructions. Second, given that structural identity is a precondition for LF-copying, this approach inherits the problems faced by PF-deletion accounts that assume structural isomorphism between the antecedent VP and the elided VP (see my discussion of (47)). I abstract away from Williams's approach in what follows, focusing instead on the two extreme cases (a single, structureless *pro* v. a full-fledged but PF-deleted syntactic structure).

An option that is in principle also available is to assume a proform-analysis for the "core" cases of VP-ellipsis, and a PF-deletion analysis for those examples in which a phrase has been moved out of the ellipsis site (by wh-movement, pseudogapping, or ACD) or in which the subject position is occupied by a *there*-expletive. Such a hybrid account is proposed by Winkler (2003:142–178) (although she does not discuss the data pertaining to *there*-expletives). Although this type of approach is clearly compatible with all the data reviewed earlier, it does seem to be dispreferred when compared to a single, unified theory of VP-ellipsis. Given that I believe that such a unified theory is feasible (see my discussion in the main text), I abstract away from Winkler's approach in what follows.

24. Although they pattern as expected, I have left out the ACD-data. Given that SDRs are disallowed not just in ACD-constructions but in a large group of other contexts as well (see section 11.2.1), it seems unlikely that this is directly related to the nature of the ellipsis site in SDRs.

25. In the results of the 1981 questionnaire on SDRs, one informant (out of 145) uses *wel* 'AFF' in combination with SDRs. His data are very dubious, though. Not only does he speak the dialect of a place that is quite far removed from the "core" SDR-area but also two other informants from this same place radically contradict his judgments.

26. For reasons unclear to me, *duun*-paraphrases in comparative clauses are less acceptable than in the other contexts mentioned. Also noteworthy is the fact that this construction is excluded in ACD-environments (see (i)). This corroborates the argumentation presented in section 11.2.11 about ACD being problematic for *pro*-theories of VP-ellipsis.

(i) * Jef leesd elken boek da Pierre da duut.
Jeff reads every book that$_{\mathrm{C}^{\circ}}$ Peter that does [Wambeek Dutch]

27. In order for B's reply in (64) and (65) to be felicitous, *nieje* 'no' and *jou* 'yes' have to be pronounced with a drag tone, in which the vowel is lengthened. I return to this observation in the appendix to this chapter.

28. Note that when a clitic is attached to *jou* 'yes', the vowel of this polarity element changes. See note 2 of chapter 15 for discussion.

29. For expository reasons, I abstract away from the semantico-pragmatic meaning layer added by the discourse particles in the translation of the examples in (89).

Chapter 12

1. Note that in this structure, I abstract away from projections such as AspP, AuxP, ModP, *v*P, Agr$_{O}$P, various adverbial projections, or the possibility of further splitting up TP, as these will not play a role in the sections and chapters that follow. As such, the labeled bracketing in (1) is merely a schematic representation of the clause structure I am adopting. In the same vein, what I present as CP here, is arguably a conglomerate of more than one functional projection; see chapter 4.

2. Given the multitude of names that have been proposed for the functional projection(s) in which polarity is expressed (NegP, PolP, *Σ*P, AstP,etc.; see Culicover 1991, Holmberg 2003, Laka 1990, Pollock 1989, Zanuttini 1997), I will continue to use the most neutral one

here, i.e. PolP. Needless to say, this choice is arbitrary, and no deeper significance should be attached to it.

3. Butler links the two PolPs to the *v*P-phase and the CP-phase respectively, and he identifies the higher PolP as Rizzi's (1997a) FocP. Here I depart from his proposal, in that I assume that the higher PolP is part of the IP-domain and that it is dominated by Agr_sP. See the discussion of the Finnish data in (6) below for discussion.

4. As Sjef Barbiers p.c. observes, the assumption that Dutch scrambling targets a position below TP is not without its problems. Consider (i).

(i)	Jan	heeft	[het	boek]$_i$	jammer	genoeg	gisteren	niet	t_i	gelezen.
	John	has	the	book	sadly	enough	yesterday	not		read

'Sadly enough, John hasn't read the book yesterday.' [Dutch]

In this example, the scrambled object *het boek* 'the book' precedes both the temporal adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday' and the evaluative mood adverb *jammer genoeg* 'sadly enough'. This seems to suggest that scrambled objects can target a fairly high position in the left periphery, arguably higher than TP. This is an issue whose scope extends beyond this chapter, so I will have nothing more to say about it, but note that even if this line of reasoning goes through, the scrambled object in (3) will still be lower than TP, given that it follows the temporal adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday'. Hence, the argument developed in the main text remains unaffected.

5. An alternative explanation, building on Roberts (1993), would be to assume that *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' are heads, but that head movement is subject to Relativized Minimality. Specifically, if *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' are of a different type (A or A-bar) from the movement of the verb to C°, they are not expected to act as interveners for this movement operation. I abstract away from this option here. Thanks to Howard Lasnik p.c. for drawing my attention to it.

6. Determining whether *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' are heads or phrases is a more complicated issue than is suggested in the main text. For example, under an XP-account of these elements, it remains mysterious why they cannot freely front to clause-initial position. However, given that this issue is tangential to my main concerns, I will not deal with it any further here. See Barbiers (2002a) for discussion.

7. I diverge from Haegeman's proposal, though, in that I assume that the higher PolP is higher than TP. See the discussion of the Finnish data in (6) below for discussion.

8. Interestingly, Holmberg (2003) argues in spite of these data that there is no Agr-projection between the high PolP and CP. However, given that he mainly does so for conceptual reasons (i.e. Chomsky's 1995:349–355 abandonment of AgrPs), that this move forces him to assume that Pol° carries phi-features, and that such an analysis has no straightforward account for the ordering of negation with respect to the inflectional suffixes, I depart from his proposal in this respect.

9. Note that this means that in an example like (i), both PolPs are overtly realized. Given that the combination of the two yields only one single semantic negation, this is an instance of negative concord.

(i)	Jef	en	kom	nie.
	Jeff	NEG	comes	not

'Jeff isn't coming' [Wambeek Dutch]

One aspect of the double PolP-account for which I have no analysis is the fact that in an example like (i) the postverbal negator *nie* 'not' is obligatory, i.e. the preverbal negative clitic *en* cannot express sentential negation on its own (see Haegeman 1995, 2002; see also

Zanuttini 1997:chap. 2 for comparative data from Romance on preverbal negative markers that can or cannot negate a clause on their own). This is illustrated in (ii).

(ii) Jef en kom *(nie).
Jeff NEG comes not
'Jeff isn't coming' [Wambeek Dutch]

Haegeman (2002:180–183) argues, in the face of these data, that the function of the higher PolP (PolP in her account) is "to reinforce sentential negation as expressed by NegP" (i.e. the lower PolP) (Haegeman 2002:180). In the next sections, I will argue that the generalization exemplified by (ii) is not an absolute one. Specifically, in SDRs the higher PolP *can* express sentential negation on its own (as is also acknowledged by Haegeman 2002:181). However, given that a full analysis of the syntax of negation in the dialects I am considering is clearly beyond the scope of this book (see in this respect also Zeijlstra 2004), I will not elaborate on this issue any further.

10. Note that these dialogues are only felicitous if it is clear to both participants that it is the truth of the proposition 'Anna went to the cinema' that forms the focus of the discussion. In other words, the disagreement expressed by B's reply in (8) and (9) is quite strong.

11. The reverse is not true: *igenis* is not obligatory in clauses expressing contradictory sentential emphasis. Specifically, it is optional in B's reply in (8) and (9). However, when it is left out, the sentence requires extra-heavy stress on the preverb+verb (in (8)) or on the negation (in (9)). See Lipták (2003) for more details. As a reviewer has pointed out, English has a phenomenon quite similar to what Lipták discusses for Hungarian. Consider (i) and (ii).

(i) John DID go to the store.
(ii) John did INDEED go to the store.

In (ii), the adverb *indeed* is used to express contradictory sentential emphasis, while in (i) the same meaning is expressed without the adverb, but with heavy stress on the auxiliary.

12. Verum Focus is the name given by Höhle (1992) to sentential emphasis.

13. It should be clear that I am only presenting an intuitive characterization of the semantics of the VERUM-operator here. For a more formal implementation, see Romero and Han (2002:212).

14. In fact, Lipták shows that lexical foci can move to specFocP following *igenis* as well. This implies that the sentences in (10) are grammatical if the adverb *tegnap* 'yesterday' is itself focused. Given that this type of emphasis will not play a role in the sections that follow, I leave it undiscussed here. See the original article for further details.

15. A note on the naturalness of the data is in order. Given that the contradictory reading inherent to B's replies is normally expressed by SDRs in the dialects I am considering here, the data in (12)–(13) have a slightly marked status for some speakers. Given that they are perfectly natural in standard Dutch, it seems plausible to assume that their occurring in the dialects is due to influence from the standard language.

16. As Marjo van Koppen p.c. informs me, in the colloquial variety of standard Dutch spoken in the Netherlands, *toch* is not the only element that can be used in this way. Other options include *mooi,* derived from an adjective meaning 'pretty' or 'nice', and *echt,* derived from an adjective/adverb meaning 'real(ly)'.

Note that *toch wel* in (12)B and *toch nie* in (13)B are not obligatory. However, when they are absent, extra-heavy stress is placed on the second occurrence of *wel/nie* lower in the clause, which is reminiscent of Hungarian replies in which *igenis* is absent (see note 11). I will not attempt to provide an analysis of such examples here.

17. Note that Hungarian and Wambeek Dutch differ in the position occupied by the subject: it is situated to the left of *igenis* in Hungarian (see (8)) and to the right of *toch wel* in

Wambeek Dutch (see (12)). This is arguably due to the fact that Hungarian features a high topic projection that is absent in (dialectal) Dutch. See Lipták (2001) for general background and see Bennis (1997, 2000) for discussion of comparable left-peripheral ordering differences between Dutch and Hungarian. Thanks to Sjef Barbiers p.c. for raising this issue.

18. Note that the tree structure in (15) is not meant to imply that I adhere to a Travis/Zwart-style analysis, in which subject-initial main clauses are IPs (or Agr_SPs in my account; see Travis 1984, Zwart 1993b, 1997). It might well be that there is an additional CP-projection in between the one targeted by *wel* and Agr_SP, and that the subject moves to the specifier of this projection. See note 21 for more general discussion.

19. The left-dislocated DP can also occur to the right of *toch wel.* This is in line with Rizzi's (1997a) claim that topics can occupy more than one structural position in the left periphery.

20. As a reviewer rightly points out, (17)B could also be taken to show that both the left dislocate and the particle combination *toch wel* are extraclausal. However, given that left dislocated XPs display connectivity effects with the clause that follows (see section 4.4.2), I consider the second option less plausible.

As Lisa Cheng p.c. correctly observes, this argument is somewhat weakened by the existence of an alternative derivation. It might also be that *toch wel* 'PRT AFF' is like a parenthetical, in that it is simply adjoined to the structure. In that case, it would indeed be part of the syntactic structure of B's reply, but it would not project its own left-peripheral functional projection, *pace* what is suggested in the main text.

21. Note that this conclusion has important consequences for the verb second requirement of (dialectal) Dutch. If the line of reasoning developed here is on the right track, an example such as B's reply in (16) is in blatant violation of the V2-constraint. Note, however, that this is not a new problem. In particular, it is well known that the V2-requirement can be violated in certain constructions (contrastive left dislocation being a prime example). More generally, the relevant issue appears to be how to reconcile the verb second requirement of a language like Dutch with the growing body of evidence suggesting that the CP-domain should be split up into several separate functional projections (see in this respect Poletto 2002 and references cited there). One final thing to note is that the projection targeted by specPolP-to-specCP-movement has to be fairly high, given that it obligatorily precedes the position targeted by the demonstrative pronoun in contrastive left dislocation (see (17)B).

22. In this respect, *wel* patterns like emphatic *do*-support in English.

(i) A: What happened? B: * I DID buy a book.

23. $X_y°$ is meant to represent a head X° of type *y,* where the class of licensing heads can vary from language to language. Rizzi further strengthens this requirement to "*pro* is Case-marked by $X_y°$" (1986:524), but as this refinement is tangential to my concerns here, I have left it out. I briefly return to it in note 7 of chapter 14.

24. An alternative line of research has been devoted to the elimination of *pro* as a theoretical notion. See in this respect Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) on expletive *pro* and Panagiotidis (2003a, 2003b) on other instances of DP-*pro.* I will have nothing further to say about such approaches in the discussion that follows.

25. Note that this is an aspect of traditional theories of *pro* that is not straightforwardly expressible using minimalist notions such as Agree (thanks to Johan Rooryck p.c. for drawing my attention to this). While in (25) it appears to be the phi-features of I° that identify *pro,* the identification relation would work in the opposite direction in a Probe/Goal-system based on Agree. Given that this issue is tangential to my main concerns here, I will not develop it any further. See Panagiotidis (2003a, 2003b) for discussion.

26. One particularly noticeable exception are East Asian languages such as Chinese and Japanese, which display massive pro-drop in the absence of verbal morphology. This led Jaeggli and Safir (1989) and Speas (1994) to conclude that in order for pro-drop to be licensed, the verbal paradigm has to be uniform, i.e. uniformly rich (as in Italian) or uniformly poor (as in Japanese). See Rohrbacher (1999:246–250), though, for evidence against this line of approach and in favor of the one I adopt in the main text. As for the analysis of pro-drop in Chinese and Japanese, several options have been proposed. For example, Rohrbacher (1999:246) suggests that these languages display not pro-drop but topic drop. Alternatively, Tomioka (2003) proposes that what looks like pro-drop in these languages is in fact NP-ellipsis in a determinerless noun phrase. See also Neeleman and Szendroï (2007) for relevant discussion.

27. See chapter 15 for an analysis of 'yes' and 'no' in the dialects I am considering here.

28. That *not* is used anaphorically in this example is also suggested by the fact that many languages use the words for 'yes' and 'no' in this type of construction. See the French example in (i) (and see also Laka 1990 for discussion).

(i) Je crois que {oui/non}.
I think that yes/no
'I think so/not.' [French]

29. The assumption that it is the high PolP that licenses the SDR-proform dovetails nicely with Cormack and Smith's (2002) account of negation. They argue that the high PolP (which they call Echo[NEG]) is one that typically acts anaphorically. Recall that I have argued earlier that it is precisely this aspect of negation (or of polarity more generally) that allows the proform to be linked to its antecedent.

30. Interestingly, this line of reasoning allows for an additional argument—albeit a theory-internal one—against the proform-analysis of English VP-ellipsis (see chapter 11, section 11.2.11). Under the assumption that *not* is an XP and *n't* a head (see e.g. Haegeman 1995, Holmberg 2003, Mitchell 1994), the data in (i) illustrate that the gap in an English VP-ellipsis-example (indicated here as [*e*]) does not require Pol° to be morphologically realized in order to be licensed. Under the present account, this means that this gap is not a proform.

(i) a. Julia loves pancakes, but Ed doesn't [*e*].
b. Julia loves pancakes, but Ed does not [*e*].

31. The terminology used here might be slightly misleading. I am not assuming that the [+F]-feature is assigned to the head or to the specifier of PolP as such. Rather, it is assigned to the lexical element that "activates" (in Koopman's 2000:360 sense) this projection, either as the head or as the specifier. Thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. and a reviewer for helping me clarify this.

Note that as a clitic, *en* 'NEG' cannot be stressed. As will become clear in chapter 13, though, the SDR-verb provides the necessary phonological support for the [+F]-marked Neg-head. As a result, it is the verb that receives focal stress.

32. The remark in note 15 about the naturalness of the data applies here as well. The most natural way to express contradictory sentential emphasis in the dialect of Izenberge is by means of an SDR. Accordingly, the examples in (27) and (29) sound a bit marked to my informant. As this does not appear to influence the point made in the main text, however, I abstract away from this variation here.

33. Note that the data in (27)Ba seem to suggest that *both* specPolPs are focused (see the fact that the clause-internal *nie* 'not' also bears stress). I assume that this is due to the concord mechanism between the two PolPs described in section 12.3.

34. One configuration that the notion of Merge is not able to capture and that was nonetheless assumed to be part of the notion of government is that between a head and the specifier of its complement. Given that this is not immediately relevant to my concerns, it is one of the issues I leave open.

It is also worth pointing out that the present discussion implies that the required merger relation does not have to be established on *first* merger. That is, the local relation can be the result of movement (= copy + remerge or Internal Merge) of the empty pronominal to the specifier position of its licensing head.

Chapter 13

1. López (1995) is one of the advocates of the proform-theory of English VP-ellipsis (see chapter 11, section 11.2.11). As a result, he is faced with essentially the same problem as I am here: the base position of the subject is situated inside the structure that is pronominalized by the proform.

Note that the argumentation developed here does not necessarily imply that subjects are *always* (i.e. also in nonelliptical clauses) merged outside of VP. For example, assuming that there is a principle ensuring that the subject is entered into the derivation as soon as possible, it would be always be merged in specVP whenever a V° is present.

The approach sketched here bears some resemblance to that found in Hale and Keyser (1993). They argue that the interpretation (i.e. the theta-role) of a subject-DP is not necessarily dependent on it occupying specVP but is determined on the basis of the structural environment in which this DP is merged. Thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. for pointing out this parallelism.

2. Note that under an Agree-analysis, the structure in (5) would require the phi-features of Agr_{S}° to probe inside its specifier. See Rezac (2003) for extensive discussion and justification.

This step in the derivation also introduces a new possible source for the SDR-verb. It might be the case that *duun* 'do' is inserted not to support the [+F]-marked negative clitic *en* but to support Agr_{S}°'s phi-features. As nothing much hinges on this issue, I leave the choice open here. See chapter 14 for some discussion, though.

3. Note that it is not a priori clear that this movement should be overt. I return to this issue in note 10 of chapter 14.

4. The example in (10)b becomes grammatical once a contrastive *but*-phrase is added to the reply. This is shown in (i).

(i)	A:	Marie	kom	mergen.				
		Mary	comes	tomorrow				
	B:	Toch	nie,	ZAAI	kom	nie, mo	AAI	wel.
		PRT	not	$\text{she}_{\text{STRONG}}$	comes	not, but	$\text{he}_{\text{STRONG}}$	AFF.

'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, SHE isn't, but HE is.' [Wambeek Dutch]

However, I believe this point is tangential to the argument developed in the main text. The example in (i) arises through the combination of two independent factors: first, the fact that the clause following *toch nie* 'PRT not' can be elided (see (ii)), and second, the fact that *toch nie* 'PRT not' can be followed by an indirect answer (see (iii)).

(ii)	A:	Marie	kom	mergen.	B:	Toch	nie	[*e*].
		Mary	comes	tomorrow		PRT	not	

'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, she isn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

(iii)	A:	Jef	eit	daunen	boek	gekocht.
		Jeff	has	that	book	bought

B:	Toch	nie,	de	winkel	was	al	tuu.
	PRT	not	the	shop	was	already	closed

'A: Jeff bought that book. B: No, he didn't, the shop was already closed.' [Wambeek Dutch]

What happens in (i) is the same thing that happens in (iii): the actual clause accompanying *toch nie* 'PRT not' has been elided, and this expression has subsequently been combined with an indirect reply. As such, it is not relevant for the argumentation I develop in the main text.

5. This third approach might actually receive some support from Old English. Van Kemenade (2000) shows that the preverbal negative element *na* 'not' in Old English follows pronominal subjects but precedes nonpronominal ones.

This third approach might have implications for the account of complementizer agreement that I develop in chapter 15. Under a particular interpretation of that theory, it might predict that only pronominal subjects can co-occur with agreeing complementizers (see chapter 15 for more details). Although it is well known that in many Dutch dialects agreeing complementizers are much more common with pronominal subjects than with nonpronominal ones (see for example Vanacker 1949:39; this trend is also corroborated by the research carried out in the context of the SAND project), I will leave a full exploration of this issue as a topic for further research. Thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for raising this issue.

6. This probably also explains why epithets are disallowed in SDRs (see (i)). Thanks to Anikó Lipták p.c. for raising this issue.

(i)	A:	Jef_i	komt.	B: *	[De	$stoemerik]_i$	en	duut.
		Jeff	comes		the	idiot	NEG	does.

[Wambeek Dutch]

7. Recall from note 19 of chapter 11 that there are several ways this requirement can be implemented and that my analysis remains neutral as to which particular implementation is adopted. Also noteworthy is the fact that in Dutch impersonal passives, *er* 'there' can be used without there being an (overt) associate DP present (see the examples in (i) and (ii) here). Given that SDRs are clearly distinct from passives, however, this issue is tangential to my concerns here, and I will leave it open. Note, though, that examples such as (i) and (ii) are prima facie problematic for theories of expletive *there* that try to relate it to properties of the associate, such as Chomsky (1995) or Kayne (2006).(Thanks to a reviewer for pointing this out to me.) See also Barbiers and Rooryck (1998) for relevant discussion of these data.

(i)	Er	wordt	gedanst.
	there	becomes	danced

'There is dancing.' [Dutch]

(ii)	Er	wordt	gezegd	dat	Ed	morgen	komt.
	there	becomes	said	that	Ed	tomorrow	comes.

'People say that Ed is coming tomorrow.' [Dutch]

8. Note that just as was the case with *there* (see note 19 of chapter 11), there are various possible approaches to expletive *it* as well. For instance, it might be analyzed as a dummy pronoun essentially serving as a placeholder for the 'real' subject (as I suggest in the main text; see also McCloskey 1991b), or it might be seen as a propredicate that takes the CP it co-occurs with as its subject (see Moro 1997, Rooryck 2001). Once again, my analysis is meant to be neutral with respect to these options.

Note that the approach adopted here implies that in an example such as the one in (i), the subject clause does not occupy the canonical subject position but rather a left-peripheral dislocation-like position (see Koster 1978). Thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. for raising this issue.

(i) Da Lewie merge komt is megelek.
that$_{C°}$ Louis tomorrow comes is possible
'That Louis will come tomorrow is possible.' [Wambeek Dutch]

9. For a possible approach toward formalizing the semantics underlying these kinds of nominalizations, see Potts (2002) (thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for drawing my attention to this article).

10. See chapter 14 for a more in-depth discussion of *da* 'that' and its relation to the null proform found in SDRs.

11. As for the question why the first strategy should exist at all, a possible hypothesis is that the use of fully specified personal pronouns in SDRs is a relic, indicating that this construction has evolved from one that involved a fully merged but PF-deleted syntactic structure, out of which the subject was raised to specAgr$_S$P. At this point, this remains pure speculation.

As a reviewer has pointed out, the account presented here raises the question why the same strategy is not employed in the so-called British English *do*-construction (Baltin 2007), an example of which is given in (i) (Baltin 2007:4).

(i) John will feel badly and Bill will do too.

This example is in all relevant respects identical to VP-ellipsis, but for the occurrence of *do* next to the ellipsis site. As the reviewer has pointed out, this construction does not allow for the expletive *there* to occur in its subject position (see (ii)) but doesn't allow for *it* as a rescue strategy either (see (iii)).

(ii) * There hasn't been a discussion yet, but there might do in the future.
(iii) * There hasn't been a discussion yet, but it might do in the future.

It is not clear to me, however, whether my discussion in the main text predicts an example like (iii) to be well formed. In particular, Baltin (2007) argues at length and in detail that the British English *do*-construction involves a full-fledged syntactic structure inside the ellipsis site (at least up to a certain point in the derivation; see the original article for details). Prime evidence for this is the fact that this construction allows for A-extraction in raising and unaccusative contexts. This means that in an example like (iii), there is a full unprounced VP present to the right of *do*. Given that a VP is not of the appropriate semantic type to be the associate of expletive *it,* this example is correctly ruled out. As for why the example in (ii) is ill formed, this is an issue I have to leave open.

12. As indicated by the judgment (and also pointed out in chapter 11, section 11.2.7), pronominal subject doubling in SDRs is slightly marked in the dialect of Wambeek. I have no account for this slight deviance, but see (22)–(23) and table 13.1 below for some discussion of the cross-dialectal variation with respect to subject doubling in SDRs.

13. The precise range of elements that can be doubled in this way is subject to interdialectal variation. See Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002b) for a more fine-grained discussion of the data.

14. For argumentation that *me* 'we' is a clitic and *we* 'we' a weak pronoun, see Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2000).

15. See Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002b:298, 2006), though, for an example of the two constructions co-occurring in one and the same sentence. As this refinement is tangential to the discussion at hand and would only unnecessarily complicate the picture, I leave it undiscussed here.

16. In fact, the distribution of topic doubling is not the only argument in favor of the hypothesis that the first subject element occupies specCP. See Van Craenenbroeck and Van

Koppen (2002b) for additional argumentation on the basis of topic doubling of indefinites and wh-phrases.

17. The facts presented in table 13.1 need to be looked into further. For example, it has to be determined whether there are also contexts in which topic doubling in the dialects of Kleit, Klemskerke, and Izenberge occurs without a contrastive reading, and what the effect of such a finding would be on the argument developed here. However, as this would lead me too far afield, I leave it as a topic for further research.

18. One subject-related property of SDRs I will have to leave open concerns the question why this construction does not allow for Subject-Auxiliary Inversion. Recall that I have argued that the movement of the subject into specCP is triggered by V2-considerations, i.e. to fill the highest specifier. This raises the possibility of there being yes/no-variants of SDRs, where the subject remains in specAgr_SP. Although I have no explanation for their absence, it is interesting to see that this construction seemed to exist in slightly older stages of Dutch; see note 4 of chapter 11.

19. Ideally, this variation should be reducible to the feature specification of the negative element itself.

20. Note that the verb *duun* 'do' in SDRs can be used to replace both deontic and epistemic modals. Given the line of reasoning developed here, this implies that epistemic modals are base-generated below TP (*pace* for example Butler 2003, Cinque 1999). See Barbiers (2004) for argumentation that this is on the right track.

21. As a reviewer points out, the account presented here is highly reminiscent of Den Dikken, Meinunger, and Wilder's (2000:65–66) treatment of the occurrence of the verb *be* in their "Type A" specificational pseudoclefts. Just like the SDR-verb, this instance of *be* cannot be preceded by modals or auxiliaries. Den Dikken et al. argue that this is due to the fact that this verb is merged directly in Top°, i.e. higher than the base position of auxiliaries and modals. Unlike the SDR-verb, the verb *be* in Type A specificational pseudoclefts can be tense-marked, but this is the result of spec/head-agreement with the wh-clause in specTopP (see the original article for details), an option that is clearly not available for *duun* 'do' in SDRs (there being no clause in its specifier). I take this parallelism to be an indication that the account I develop in the main text is on the right track.

22. One caveat is in order. The fact that SDRs contain a null TP-proform does not explain why this construction cannot be combined with *subject* wh-movement (see chapter 11, section 11.2.8). In this case, the trace would not be part of the structure that is pronominalized by the proform and hence should be licit. There are several ways to analyze this. For example, one could assume that given that wh-phrases are generally considered to be focus-marked, they cannot be merged in the subject position of SDRs (which only allows for nonfocus subjects, see the discussion following (9)). Alternatively, it could be that examples such as (37)B in chapter 11 fail because there is no way to satisfy the coreferentiality requirement of SDRs. (I owe this second suggestion to a reviewer.)

23. As for the question of why SDRs are excluded in embedded clauses, various possible approaches come to mind. It might be that the contradictory sentential emphasis reading of SDRs is pragmatically incompatible with embedding, or that the position targeted by PolP-to-CP-movement is absent in embedded clauses (see also chapter 12, section 12.3 for discussion). More generally, the idea that certain discourse-related properties of clauses are typically "root phenomena" does not seem to be a highly controversial one.

24. Note that an SDR such as the one in (i) is also ungrammatical (thanks to Sjef Barbiers p.c. and Jason Merchant p.c. for raising this issue). In this sentence, specCP is filled by *nieje* 'no,' the complex head—consisting of the verb and the negative clitic—has raised to C°, and the subject has remained in specAgr_SP.

(i) * Nieje en duu ze.
no NEG does she
INTENDED READING: 'No, she doesn't' [Wambeek Dutch]

I suggest that the cause of the ungrammaticality of this example is the V2-requirement of (dialectal) Dutch. The polarity markers *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no'—for some ill-understood reason (see also note 21 of chapter 12)—never occur in the preverb V2-position. Apparently, these elements are incapable of satisfying the requirement that the finite verb must be preceded by precisely one maximal projection. In other words, the SDR in (i) is ungrammatical for the same reason B's reply in (ii) is.

(ii) A: Kom Jef? B: * Nieje kom Jeff nie.
comes Jeff no comes Jeff not
INTENDED READING: 'A: Is Jeff coming? B: No, he isn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

Chapter 14

1. This question is rarely raised by advocates of the proform-theory of English VP-ellipsis. The only exceptions I know of—and thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for pointing them out to me—are López and Winkler (2000) and Winkler (2003), who analyze the German proform *es* 'it' as the overt counterpart of the null pronominal they postulate in English VP-ellipsis. Note that under such an account, it still remains mysterious why English only has the covert form and German only the overt form of this proform. For argumentation that English *so* is not a suitable candidate for the postulated proform, see Hardt (1993:106–108) and López (1995:200–234).

2. As far as I have been able to ascertain, neither the dialectological nor the theoretical literature contains any prior discussion of this construction.

3. The use of *jawel* 'yes.AFF' in this construction is felt to be more emphatic than that of *wel* 'AFF'. It is only found in the speech of younger speakers.

4. Although I have not yet been able to determine the precise area in which this construction is used, it is clear that it extends well beyond Flemish Brabant. For example, one of my informants comes from the province of North Brabant in the Netherlands. This also implies that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the area in which SDRs are used and the area in which the construction in (3)–(5) is used. Note that this is in no way predicted by the theory. On the contrary, given that the licensing requirements on the null SDR-proform are stricter than those on the overt pronominal *da* 'that' (see section 14.3 for discussion), constructions that contain the former are expected to be rarer than those containing the latter.

5. As Lisa Cheng p.c. points out, if the subject is structurally represented in the left-peripheral VP in (6)b (see the VP-internal subject hypothesis), then the VP might be interpreted as a saturated expression rather than as a predicate. Although I have no positive evidence excluding such an account, it does seem to be less likely for the example in (6)a, where the interpretation of *dad* 'that' is clearly that of a one-place predicate. More generally, the hypothesis that *da(t)* 'that' can be used to resume predicates in contrastive left dislocation contexts is also argued for by Rullmann and Zwart (1996).

6. It is also worth pointing out that in precisely this domain, the judgments on SDRs were not extremely sharp either. See note 8 of chapter 11.

7. Note that it is not a priori clear if *pro* needs Case in this scenario. Assume for instance that Case-marking is one of the ways *pro* can be licensed (see in this respect also Rizzi's requirement in note 23 of chapter 12). Specifically, when licensed by a Case-marking head (say, $Agr_S°$ or $Agr_O°$), *pro* is interpreted as a DP (say, a subject or an object). When it is licensed by a [+F]-marked Pol°-head, it is interpreted as a TP.

8. The reader might wonder why it is *be* that is inserted here and not *do* as in SDRs. This issue is taken up in the next section.

9. For ease of exposition, I have presented the derivation in a slightly countercyclic manner here. That is, the insertion of the copula should take place prior to the movement of the proform into specAgr_SP. Alternatively, it might also be the case that the insertion of *is* 'is' is a late, morphological operation that takes place after the narrow syntactic derivation. As this issue is not crucial for the line of argumentation developed here, I leave it open.

10. This line of reasoning raises the question of why Pol°-(to-Agr_S°)-to-C°-movement is overt in SDRs. Given that there is no lower PolP in this construction either, the focus-driven movement should be covert. As I hinted in note 3 of chapter 13, the data presented in the preceding chapters are in fact all compatible with an analysis of SDRs in which the verb does not raise overtly to check the [+F]-feature on C°. Note in particular that the subject doubling data discussed in chapter 13, section 13.3 show that that the subject *can* occupy specCP, not that it must do so. The reason I have presented the analysis as involving overt verb movement is that there might be yet another, independent trigger for it, i.e. the V2-property of dialectal Dutch.

11. As for the morphological realization of this head, I assume that it is never spelled out in *da's nie/(ja)wel*.

12. I owe this suggestion to Sjef Barbiers p.c.

13. The examples are from Brabant Dutch here, but the facts also hold for the SDR-dialects (as well as for the standard language for that matter).

14. There is an exception to this: when the C°-position is occupied by a subject clitic in inverted main clauses or embedded clauses, the canonical subject position (say, specAgr_SP) can be filled by a DP-*pro* in the dialects I am considering. See note 19 in chapter 15.

15. Needless to say, the observation that the low Pol°-head is never morphologically realized as the negative clitic *en* is a fact that requires an explanation in itself. In this respect, I have nothing new to offer, although it does seem to be part of a larger generalization, whereby morphophonologically deficient negative markers tend to occupy higher structural positions. See Zanuttini (1997) for comparative data from Romance.

Chapter 15

1. The geographical distribution, historical variation, and morphological make-up of this construction is discussed in Paardekooper (1993), Smessaert (1995), and De Vogelaer (2003).

2. In the dialect of Wambeek, adding a clitic to *jou* 'yes' results in a vowel change in this polarity element. In the third person masculine singular, the vowel changes from [ɑu] to [o] and in all the other persons from [ɑu] to [œy]. Such variation in vowel quality is also observed for West Flemish by Smessaert (1995:48). I have no account for it.

The dialects I am considering differ as to whether the clitic is optional in examples like the ones in (1) and (2), the variation ranging from it being preferred (e.g. in Wambeek Dutch) to it being obligatory (e.g. in Klemskerke Dutch).

3. The fact that the correlation between the two constructions becomes somewhat blurry at the periphery is arguably due to language contact and concomitant language change, hence should not be seen as counterevidence against the proposed generalization. Moreover, the SDR-points in the Netherlands (three in the north and three in the south) are dubious and might actually disappear under closer scrutiny.

4. For reasons of brevity, I only present data involving the affirmative polarity marker 'yes' in the following sections. The reported judgments also hold for 'no'.

5. This is also observed by De Vogelaer (2003).

6. A caveat is in order on the judgment of (10)Bc. Not all my informants find this example equally deviant. I suspect this is because for some speakers, the morphological make-up of the form *jaant* 'yes.PL.it$_{\text{CLITIC}}$' is becoming nontransparent and that as a result, it is being used as a variant of *jaat* 'yes.it$_{\text{CLITIC}}$'. For example, as De Vogelaer (2004) points out, in the dialect of Lokeren, the form *jaant* 'yes.PL.it$_{\text{CLITIC}}$' can be used in reply to *Is da huis al verkocht?* 'Has that house been sold already?' (lit. is that house already sold). Given that in this example the subject is singular, it is clear that the *n* is no longer perceived as a plural suffix. The judgments I have reported in the main text are also found—though less explicitly—in Smessaert (1995:48–49).

7. For now, I have simply adjoined the subject clitic *s* 'she' to the C°-head whose specifier hosts the polarity element. See the next section for more discussion.

8. I have left out VFocP as this projection will not play a role in this discussion.

9. The reply in (20)Bb was allowed in Middle Dutch. It would be interesting to explore how both SDRs and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' in Middle Dutch relate to the contemporary dialect Dutch data discussed in this and the preceding chapters. Note also that the reply in (20)Bb is ungrammatical even in dialects like the one of Izenberge, in which the polarity element *nie* 'not' is allowed to occur in SDRs.

10. See section 15.4 for a discussion of the combination of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' with full clausal replies.

11. A potential problem for Merchant's account—pointed out to me by Howard Lasnik p.c.—is raised by examples such as (i).

(i) ?More linguists solved problems than did philosophers (*solve problems).

Here, the comparative operator is subextracted from the subject, but VP-ellipsis is still obligatory in the context of Subject-Auxiliary Inversion. Given that the subject does not originate inside the VP, the operator that is subextracted from it has not adjoined to the VP on its way to specCP and hence does not leave a nonproperly governed trace. This seems to suggest that the cause for the obligatory nature of the ellipsis operation must lie elsewhere. However, it is unclear whether the violation incurred by the lack of VP-ellipsis in (i) is the same as the one I discuss in the main text. For example, unlike the examples I discuss in the main text, the nonelliptical variant of (i) is also ungrammatical *without* Subject-Auxiliary Inversion. This is illustrated in (ii).

(ii) ?*More linguists solved problems than philosophers solved problems.

In (ii), neither VP-ellipsis nor Subject-Auxiliary Inversion has taken place, yet the resulting sentence is highly degraded. This suggests that the cause for the deviance of these data should be sought elsewhere. See Kennedy and Merchant (2000a) for relevant discussion. Potentially more damaging for Merchant's account is Winkler's (2003:140) example (represented in (iii)), which seems to show that when the VP following the subject contains a focused element (in this case *drunk*), VP-ellipsis is no longer obligatory in the context of Subject-Auxiliary Inversion. I leave the analysis of this example open.

(iii) Abby can play more instruments SOBER than can her father play DRUNK.

A reviewer raises the question of why VP-ellipsis is not obligatory in ordinary cases of object wh-movement like (i).

(i) Which book has John read?

Assuming (and see Nissenbaum 1998 and Legate 2003 for extensive argumentation) that the wh-phrase *which book* has an intermediate VP-adjoined trace, the (trace of the) fronted auxiliary should be unable to properly head-govern this trace, exactly as I discuss in the

main text. As a result, VP-ellipsis should be obligatory here as well, contrary to fact. There is another way, as discussed by Merchant (2003), that the intermediate trace can get licensed in (i): through antecedent government by the moved wh-phrase. Since he argues that antecedent government is subject to a PF-visibility requirement on the governor, this option is not available to the examples I discuss in the main text, where the A'-moved comparative operator is not PF-visible (i.e. it has not phonetic exponent). See the original article for more details.

12. In terms of the theoretical framework of PF-deletion I adopted in part I, this means that the syntactic licensing requirements of the [E]-feature active in sentences like the one in (27)Bb can be represented as follows: $\text{E}_{[u\text{F*},\ u\text{Pol*}]}$. That is, in order to be fully licensed, this feature has to be in a local relation with a head that carries a [+F]- and a [+POL]-feature.

13. This explains why it is Agr_SP rather than PolP that is deleted in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Note that if it were merely a matter of eliding (the constituent containing) the offending element, ellipsis of PolP should suffice in the structure in (23). (Thanks to a reviewer for asking me to clarify this.)

14. In the structure in (30)b, I am abstracting away from the split CP-account of wh-movement proposed and discussed in the first case study in part I, so as to not unnecessarily complicate the discussion. As far as I can see, the conclusions reached in this section would remain unaltered under such an account.

15. As a reviewer points out, the contrast in (31) would also follow from the assumption that the Subject Island itself is a PF-condition and that PF-deletion can rescue a violation of this principle. In such a case, subjects of sluiced IPs would occupy specIP, subextracting from them would in principle be as ill formed as in (31)b, but that ill-formedness would never surface because sluicing ensures that the offending structure does not reach the PF-interface. This point is addressed in Van Craenenbroeck and Den Dikken (2007:655n4), which suggests a possible way to empirically differentiate the two analyses. Note also that there is independent evidence from specificational pseudoclefts and question/answer-pairs that ellipsis can allow subjects to remain in specVP (see Den Dikken, Meinunger, and Wilder 2000:sec. 2.4, Van Craenenbroeck and Den Dikken 2007:657–658 for discussion).

16. It is important to point out that this objection does not hold for Merchant's account of subjects in sluiced IPs as outlined earlier. In that analysis, $\text{Agr}_\text{S}°$ is endowed with the relevant features and present in the structure *before* Spell-Out.

17. The example here is from Hellendoorn Dutch, a dialect in the Dutch province of Overijssel that also displays complementizer agreement. For reasons independent of the argumentation developed here, these facts cannot be demonstrated equally clearly for the West Flemish dialects. See Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002a, 2003) for discussion.

18. See Goeman (1999) on why the final *t* of the complementizer changes into an *r* when it is inflected.

19. Note that the line of reasoning advocated here implies that in an example such as (i), the subject position is filled with a DP-*pro*. I assume that this null pronominal is licensed and identified by the clitic pronoun on C°. See Bennis and Haegeman (1984) for discussion.

(i)	Ik	paus	dat-n	gui	kommen.
	I	think	that-$\text{he}_{\text{CLITIC}}$	goes	come
	'I think he will come.'				[Wambeek Dutch]

20. As for why complementizers in Dutch dialects do not display *object* agreement, see Carstens (2003).

21. Again, there are independent reasons why this generalization cannot be demonstrated for the West Flemish dialects. See Van Koppen (2005) for extensive discussion.

22. See Johannessen (1998) and Van Koppen (2005) for more extensive discussion of such first conjunct agreement phenomena.

23. It is not a priori clear whether this analysis can be extended to account for the absence of "Wackernagel" clitics on sluiced wh-phrases in languages such as Slovene, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, or Macedonian (see Merchant 2001:65–66 for data and references). Note, though, that this potential lack of generality is not necessarily a drawback of my proposal. It is well known that clitics in Dutch dialects differ substantially from South-Slavic ones in their distribution, syntax, and syntactic category. As a result, one might wonder whether these facts should be given a unified account to begin with. Note also that the analysis I have proposed has no new light to shed on the absence of complementizers in sluicing contexts (see Baltin 2006 for recent discussion). Nonetheless, this issue is—at least partially—independent of the data I discuss, given that many Dutch dialects allow subject clitics and agreement endings to show up on C° even in the absence of an overt complementizer. As a result, their absence on sluiced wh-phrases cannot be due to the absence of overt complementizers to the right of sluiced wh-phrases.

24. Given that P&W are concerned with negative imperatives, their main focus is on negation rather than polarity in general. As far as I can see, their account extends straightforwardly to positive polarity as well.

25. The other dialects I am considering are more restrictive in this respect. They allow for doubling but disallow tripling. A similar argument to the one developed in the main text can be constructed for these dialects. Although they disallow tripling in ordinary clauses, they freely allow it in combinations of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' with full clausal replies. This, once again, suggests that these two do not form a single syntactic tree.

26. In my analysis, the deviance of (64)Ba follows from the fact that the SDR underlying conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' necessarily contains a pronominal subject (see chapters 11 and 13 for discussion). Under the assumption (discussed extensively by Cardinaletti and Starke 1999) that pronouns always show up in their weakest possible morphological form, the obligatory presence of the clitic follows naturally.

27. The discussion in the present section only targets one very specific assumption of P&W: the one that conjugated 'yes' and 'no' originate inside full clausal answers. This implies that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' cannot be used as supporting evidence for the base-generated position of these polarity elements. As far as I can see, this does not affect the rest of P&W's account in any substantial way.

Chapter 16

1. As for the question why the English translation of (4) is well formed in the relevant context, see Merchant (2004:716–732).

2. Some notable exceptions are Pope (1975), Laka (1990), Cinque (1999), Homberg (2004), Munaro and Poletto (2004, 2005), Grosz (2005), and Poletto and Zanuttini (2007).

Chapter 17

1. See also Winkler (2003), though, who also develops fully explicit accounts for what she calls Discourse-Bound Ellipsis (which includes VP-ellipsis) and Sentence-Bound Ellipsis (which includes gapping and stripping). As I hinted in note 23 of chapter 11, however, the approach she adopts toward these constructions differs markedly from the one pursued in this book.

2. A question that can be raised at this point—and that was suggested to me by a reviewer—is to what extent the licensing conditions of the [E]-feature and those on *pro* can

be unified. Given that both conditions at an abstract level deal with nonpronunciation, such a unification would clearly be desirable. This is an issue I hope to take up in future work (see also Van Craenenbroeck 2004 for related discussion).

3. As a reviewer rightly points out, the last resort mechanism discussed here is incompatible with the standard minimalist economy metric, in which only derivations with identical Numerations can be compared. See Müller (2005) for discussion of various ways of defining the reference set of a transderivational constraint and their respective (dis)advantages. The reference set I have in mind here can be defined as in (i) (Müller 2005:85).

(i) Two derivations D1 and D2 are in the same reference set iff:
a: D1 and D2 have the same S-structure representation
b: D1 and D2 do not violate local or global constraints

4. In terms of the implementation adopted in part I, this would mean that the [E]-feature is restricted to occurring on phase heads.

5. A reviewer points out that the idea that phase heads can trigger PF-deletion of their complement appears to be in conflict with Chomsky's claim that only (entire) phases have "PF-independence." It is not clear, however, whether deletion should be taken to represent PF-independence in Chomsky's sense. While it is true that typically only phases can be moved or used in isolation, this does not hold of ellipsis. For example, as Kennedy and Merchant (2000b) point out, it is unlikely that a process of CP-ellipsis exists, and similarly, DP-deletion is unattested as well. Moreover, deaccenting patterns with ellipsis in this respect (Tancredi 1992), thus suggesting that there is a consistent set of PF-related phenomena that does not fall under the rubric of PF-independence in Chomsky's sense. What I am claiming, then, is that for these phenomena, it is the complement of the phase head that matters, not the entire phase.

6. Note that this means that in a standard Dutch clause expressing contradictory sentential emphasis, such as B's reply in (i), the first occurrence of *wel* is arguably base-generated directly in specCP, rather than moved to that position from the specifier position of the high PolP.

(i) A: Ed komt niet. B: Toch wel, Ed komt wel.
Ed comes not PRT AFF Ed comes AFF
'A: Ed isn't coming. B: Yes, he is.' [Dutch]

This page intentionally left blank

REFERENCES

Abels, K. 2003. Successive cyclicity, anti-locality and adposition stranding. Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut.

Aboh, E. O. 2003. *The morphosyntax of complement-head sequences. Clause structure and word order patterns in Kwa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Aboh, E. O., and R. Pfau. Forthcoming. What's a wh-word got to do with it? In *Mapping the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, vol. 5*, ed. P. Benincà and N. Munaro. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ackema, P., and A. Neeleman. 2001. Context-sensitive Spell-Out and adjacency. Manuscript. University of Utrecht and University College London.

Alexiadou, A., and E. Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Parametrizing Agr: Word order, verb-movement and EPP-checking. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16: 491–539.

Aoun, J., N. Hornstein, D. Lightfoot, and A. Weinberg. 1987. Two types of locality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18: 537–577.

Aoun, J., and Y.-H. A. Li. 2003. *Essays on the representational and derivational nature of grammar: The diversity of wh-constructions*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bachrach, A. 2003, November 7–9. ~~Pseudo~~clefts. Handout with presentation to the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the North East Linguistic Society, Stony Brook, New York.

Baltin, M. 2002. Movement to the higher V is remnant movement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 653–659.

———. 2006. Doubly-filled comps are not doubly-filled comps. Manuscript. NYU.

———. 2007. Deletion vs. pro-forms: A false dichotomy? Manuscript. NYU.

Barbiers, S. 2002a. Microvariation in negation in varieties of Dutch. In *Syntactic Microvariation*, ed. S. Barbiers, L. Cornips, and S. van der Kleij, 13–40. Amsterdam: Meertens Institute.

———. 2002b. Remnant stranding and the theory of movement. In *Dimensions of movement*, ed. A. Alexiadou, 47–67. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 2004, March 25–26. On the polarity of modal complements. Handout with presentation to the Workshop on Modal Verbs and Modality, University of Tübingen.

Barbiers, S., L. Cornips, and J. P. Kunst. 2007. The Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects: A corpus of elicited speech as an on-line Dynamic Atlas. In *Creating and digitizing language corpora. Volume 1: Synchronic databases*, ed. J. Beal, K. P. Corrigan and H. Moisl, 54–90. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Barbiers, S., and J. Rooryck. 1998. On the interpretation of *there* in existentials. In *Proceedings of WCCFL 17*, ed. K. Shahin, S. Blake, and E.-S. Kim, 59–73. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

Barrs, A. 2000. Minimalism and asymmetric wh-interpretation. In *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka, 31–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bayer, J. 1984. COMP in Bavarian syntax. *Linguistic Review* 3: 209–274.

Becker, M. 2004. *Is* isn't *be*. *Lingua* 114: 399–418.

Belletti, A. 1990. *Generalized verb movement*. Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier.

Benincà, P. 1994. *La variazione sintattica: Studi di dialettologia romanza*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Benincà, P., and C. Poletto. 2004. Topic, focus and V2: Defining the CP-sublayers. In *The structure of IP and CP: The cartography of syntactic structures, Vol. 2*, ed. L. Rizzi, 52–75. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bennis, H. 1997. Voegwoordvariaties. In *Taal in tijd en ruimte*, ed. A. van Santen and M. van der Wal, 353–364. Leiden: SNL.

———. 2000. On the interpretation of functional categories. In *Interface strategies*, ed. H. Bennis, M. Everaert, and E. Reuland, 37–53. Amsterdam: KNAW.

Bennis, H., and L. Haegeman. 1984. On the status of agreement and relative clauses in West Flemish. In *Sentential complementation: Proceedings of the international conference held at UFSAL*, ed. W. de Geest and Y. Putseys, 33–53. Dordrecht: Foris.

Bergvall, V. L. 1983. Wh-questions and island constraints in Kikuyu: A reanalysis. In *Current approaches to African linguistics, Vol. 2*, ed. J. Kaye, H. Koopman, D. Sportiche, and A. Dugas, 245–260. Dordrecht: Foris.

Black, J. R., and V. Motapanyane, eds. 1996. *Microparametric syntax and dialect variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bo, L.-L. de. 1873. *Westvlaamsch idioticon*. Brugge: Gailliard.

Bobaljik, J. D. 2002. A-chains at the PF-interface: Copies and "covert" movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20: 197–267.

Boeckx, C., and S. Stjepanović. 2001. Head-ing toward PF. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 345–355.

Bresnan, J. 1971. A note on the notion "Identity of Sense Anaphora." *Linguistic Inquiry* 2: 589–597.

Broadwell, G. A. 2002a. Branching consistency as a constraint on Zapotec syntax. Manuscript. State University of New York, Albany.

———. 2002b. Constraint symmetry in optimality theoretic syntax. In *Proceedings of the 2002 Lexical-Functional Grammar conference*, ed. M. Butt and T. Holloway King, 57–75. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

Browning, M. 1996. CP-recursion and that-t effects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27: 237–255.

Butler, J. 2003. A minimalist treatment of modality. *Lingua* 113: 967–996.

Cardinaletti, A., and M. Starke. 1999. The typology of Structural Deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. In *Clitics in the languages of Europe*, ed. H. van Riemsdijk, 141–228. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Carstens, V. 2003. Rethinking complementizer agreement: Agree with a Case-checked Goal. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34: 393–412.

Chambers, J. K., and P. Trudgill. 1998. *Dialectology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chao, W. 1987. On ellipsis. Ph.D. diss. University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Cheng, L. 1991. On the typology of wh-questions. Ph.D. diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Cheng, L., and J. Rooryck. 2000. Licensing wh-in-situ. *Syntax* 3: 1–19.

Chisholm, M. 2002. Ellipsis in DP. M.A. thesis. University of California, Santa Cruz.

Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding: The Pisa lectures.* Dordrecht: Foris.

———. 1982. *Some concepts and consequences of the theory of Government and Binding.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 1993. A minimalist program for linguistic theory. *The view from building 20*, ed. K. Hale and S. J. Keyser, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 1994. *Bare phrase structure.* MIT occasional papers in linguistics 5. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.

———. 1995. *The minimalist program.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka, 89–156. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. M. Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chung, S. 1998. *The design of agreement: Evidence from Chamorro.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chung, S., W. Ladusaw, and J. McCloskey. 1995. Sluicing and Logical Form. *Natural Language Semantics* 3: 239–282.

Cinque, G. 1986. Bare quantifiers, quantified NPs and the notion of operator at S-structure. *Rivista di grammatica generativa* 11: 33–63.

———. 1990. *Types of A' dependencies.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 1993. A null theory of phrasal and compound stress. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24: 239–297.

———. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Colinet, Ph. 1896. Het dialect van Aalst: Eene phonetisch-historische studie. *Leuvensche Bijdragen* 1: 1–59, 99–206, 223–309.

Comorovski, I. 1996. Multiple wh-movement in Romanian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17: 171–177.

Coppock, E. 2001. Gapping: In defense of deletion. In *Proceedings of the thirty-seventh annual Chicago Linguistic Society conference*, ed. M. Andronis, C. Ball, H. Elston, and S. Neuvel, 252–286. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Cormack, A., and N. Smith. 2002. Modals and negation in English. In *Modality and its interaction with the verbal system*, ed. S. Barbiers, F. Beukema, and W. van der Wurff, 133–163. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Corver, N., and C. Thiersch. 2001. Remarks on parentheticals. In *Progress in grammar: Articles at the twentieth anniversary of the Comparison of Grammatical Models Group in Tilburg*, ed. M. van Oostendorp and E. Anagnostopoulou. http://meertens. library. uu. nl/progressingrammar/toc. html.

Craenenbroeck, J. van. 2004, October 8. PF-deletion vs. *pro.* A tentative and speculative bird's eye view. Handout with presentaion to Leiden Workshop on Ellipsis, Gaps and Empty Categories, Leiden University.

———. 2005a. Adverbial modification under sluicing. In *Ellipsis in Minimalism. Proceedings of the Seventh Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar*, ed. Kiyong Choi and Changguk Yim, 77–102. Seoul: Hankook.

———. 2005b, October 20. Guess what about? Adverbial modifiers and the syntax of sluicing. Handout with presentation to the workshop Sounds of Silence, 2005, University of Tilburg.

———. 2007, December 19. Invisible syntax: sluicing, clefts and LF-copy. Handout with presentation to Syntax Seminar, Leiden University.

Craenenbroeck, J. van, and M. den Dikken. 2006. Ellipsis and EPP repair. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37: 653–664.

Craenenbroeck, J. van, and L. Haegeman. 2007. The derivation of subject-initial V2. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38: 167–178.

Craenenbroeck, J. van, and M. van Koppen. 2000. On the pronominal system of Dutch dialects. Manuscript. Leiden University.

———. 2002a. The locality of agreement and the CP-domain. Manuscript. Leiden University.

———. 2002b. Pronominal doubling and the structure of the left periphery in southern Dutch. In *Syntactic Microvariation*, ed. S. Barbiers, L. Cornips, and S. van der Kleij. http://www. meertens.knaw. nl/books/synmic/.

———. 2002c. Subject doubling in Dutch dialects. In *Proceedings of Console IX*, ed. M. van Koppen, E. Thrift, E.-J. van der Torre, and M. Zimmerman, 54–67. Leiden: SOLE.

———. 2003. Congruentie en lokaliteit in de Nederlandse dialecten. *Taal en Tongval Themanummer Dialectsyntaxis* 63–86.

———. 2006, March 18. Clitic doubling and coordination: Towards a micro-typology of pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects. Handout with presentation to workshop Syntactic Doubling in European Dialects, Meertens Institute, Amsterdam.

———. 2008a. Theorie, empirie en subjectverdubbeling: Een antwoord op Haegeman. 2004. *Taal en Tongval* 59: 149–171.

———. 2008b. Pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects: Big DPs and coordinations. In *Microvariations in syntactic doubling*, ed. S. Barbiers, O. Koeneman, and M. Lekakou. Syntax and Semantics vol. 36, 207–249. London: Macmillan.

Craenenbroeck, J. van, and A. Lipták. 2005. Ellipsis in Hungarian and the typology of sluicing. In *Ellipsis in minimalism: Proceedings of the Seventh Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar*, ed. Kiyong Choi and Changguk Yim, 103–133. Seoul: Hankook.

———. 2006. The cross-linguistic syntax of sluicing: evidence from Hungarian relatives. *Syntax* 9: 248–274.

———. 2007. On the interaction between verb movement and ellipsis: New evidence from Hungarian. In *Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. C. B. Yang and H. J. Haynie, 138–146. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla.

Culicover, P. 1991. Topicalisation, inversion and complementizers in English. In *Going Romance and beyond*, ed. D. Delfitto, M. Everaert, A. Evans, and F. Stuurman, 1–43. Utrecht: University of Utrecht.

———. 1999. *Syntactic nuts: Hard cases, syntactic theory, and language acquisition*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Culicover, P., and R. Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler Syntax*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dayal, V. 1996. *Locality in wh-quantification, questions and relative clauses in Hindi*. Amsterdam: Kluwer.

———. 2003. Multiple wh-questions. In *The syntax companion*, ed. M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk, *Vol. 3*, case 44. Oxford: Blackwell.

Delin, J. 1992. Properties of *it*-cleft presupposition. *Journal of Semantics* 9: 179–196.

Devos, M. 1986. Het persoonlijk voornaamwoord 2e pers. enk. in het Westvlaams: Geografie en historiek. In *Vruchten van zijn akker, Opstellen van. oud- medewerkers en oud-*

studenten voor Prof. dr. V. F. Vanacker, ed. M. Devos and J. Taeldeman, 167–191. Gent: Seminarie voor Nederlandse Taalkunde en Vlaamse Dialectologie.

Dikken, M. den, and A. Giannakidou. 2002. From *Hell* to polarity: "Aggressively non-D-linked" *wh*-phrases as polarity items. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 31–61.

Dikken, M. den, A. Meinunger, and C. Wilder. 2000. Pseudoclefts and ellipsis. *Studia Linguistica* 54: 41–89.

Dobrovie-Sorin, C. 1990. Clitic doubling, WH movement and quantification in Romanian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21: 351–397.

———. 1994. *The syntax of Romanian: Comparative studies in Romance*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Doron, E. 1999. V-movement and VP-ellipsis. In *Fragments: Studies in ellipsis and gapping*, ed. S. Lappin and E. Benmamoun, 124–140. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fanselow, G. 2004. The MLC and derivational economy. In A. Stepanov, G. Fanselow, and R. Vogel, *The Minimal Link Condition*, 73–124. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Fanselow, G., and D. Ćavar. 2001. Remarks on the economy of pronunciation. In *Competition in syntax*, ed. G. Müller and W. Sternefeld, 107–150. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Fanselow, G., and A. Mahajan. 2000. Towards a minimalist theory of wh-expletives, wh-copying and successive cyclicity. In *Wh-scope marking*, ed. U. Lutz, G. Müller, and A. von Stechow, 195–230. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fiengo, R. 1998. How to ask multiple questions—some simple ways: A footnote to Austin. Manuscript. City University of New York Graduate Center.

Fiengo, R., and R. May. 1994. *Indices and identity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fortin, C. R. 2007. Indonesian sluicing and verb phrase ellipsis: Description and explanation within a Minimalist framework. Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.

Fox, D. 1999. Reconstruction, Binding Theory and the interpretation of chains. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 157–196.

———. 2000. *Economy and semantic interpretation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fox, D., and H. Lasnik. 2003. Successive-cyclic movement and island repair: The difference between sluicing and VP-ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34: 143–154.

Geest, W. de. 1995. Cliticisation and clitic doubling in East Flemish. In *The Berkeley Conference on Dutch Linguistics 1993: Dutch Linguistics in a Changing Europe*, ed. T. F. Shannon and J. P. Snapper, 151–170. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Gengel, K. 2007. Focus and ellipsis: A generative analysis of pseudogapping and other elliptical structures. Ph.D. diss., University of Stuttgart.

Ginzburg, J., and I. A. Sag. 2000. *Interrogative investigations: The form, meaning, and use of English interrogatives*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

Goeman, T. 1999. *T-deletie in Nederlandse dialecten*. The Hague: HAG.

Goldberg, L. 2003, November 7–9. *Deriving V-stranding VP-ellipsis*. Abstract for the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the North East Linguistic Society, Stony Brook.

———. 2005. Verb-stranding VP ellipsis: A cross-linguistic study. Ph.D. diss., McGill University.

Grinder, J., and P. Postal. 1971. Missing antecedents. *Linguistic Inquiry* 2: 269–312.

Grohmann, K. 2001. Prolific peripheries: A radical view from the left. Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland.

———. 2003. *Prolific domains: On the anti-locality of movement dependencies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Groos, A., and H. van Riemsdijk. 1981. Matching effects in free relatives: A parameter of core grammar. In *Theory of markedness in generative grammar: Proceedings of the 1979 GLOW conference*, ed. A. Belletti, L. Brandi, and L. Rizzi, 171–216. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore.

Grosu, A. 1994. *Three studies in locality and case*. London: Routledge.

Grosu, A., and F. Landman. 1998. Strange relatives of the third kind. *Natural Language Semantics* 6: 125–170.

Grosz, P. 2005. *dn* in Viennese German. The syntax of a clitic version of the discourse particle *denn*. M.A. thesis, University of Vienna.

Guéron, J., and R. May. 1987. Extraposition and logical form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15: 1–31.

Gussenhoven, C. 1984. *On the grammar and semantics of sentences accents*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Haegeman, L. 1990. Subject pronouns and subject clitics in West Flemish. *Linguistic Review* 7: 333–363.

———. 1992. *Theory and description in generative grammar: A case study of West Flemish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1995. *The syntax of negation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2002. West Flemish negation and the derivation of SOV-order in West Germanic. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 25: 154–189.

Hale, K., and S. J. Keyser. 1993. Argument structure. In *The view from building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. K. Hale and S. J. Keyser, 53–108. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Halle, M., and A. Marantz. 1993. Distributed Morphology and the pieces of inflection. In *The view from building 20*, ed. K. Hale and S. J. Keyser, 111–176. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hankamer, J., and I. A. Sag. 1976. Deep and surface anaphora. *Linguistic Inquiry* 7: 391–428.

Hardt, D. 1993. Verb Phrase Ellipsis: Form, meaning and processing. Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania.

———. 1999. Dynamic interpretation of verb phrase ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 22: 185–219.

Hartman, J. 2007. Focus, deletion, and identity: Investigations of ellipsis in English. B.A. thesis, Harvard University.

Hartman, J., and R. R. Ai. 2007. A focus account of swiping. Manuscript. Harvard University.

Hasegawa, H. 2007, April 13. *Swiping involves preposition stranding, not pied-piping*. Handout with a presentation to the thirtieth annual meeting of Generative Linguisitics of the Old World, University of Tromsoe.

Heim, I., and A. Kratzer. 1998. *Semantics in generative grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Heller, D. 2003. On the relation of connectivity and specificational pseudoclefts. *Natural Language Semantics* 10: 243–284.

Henry, A. 1995. *Belfast English and standard English: Dialect variation and parameter setting*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Heycock, C., and A. Kroch. 1999. Pseudocleft connectivity: Implications for the LF interface. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 365–397.

Hiemstra, I. 1986. Some aspects of wh-questions in Frisian. *NOWELE* 8: 97–110.

Hinskens, F. 1993. Dialect levelling in Limburg: Structural and sociolinguistic aspects. Ph.D. diss., University of Nijmegen.

Hobbs, J. R., and A. Kehler. 1997. A theory of parallelism and the case of VP Ellipsis. In *Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Conference of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, ed. P. R. Cohen and W. Wahlster, 394–401. East Stroudsburg, PA: Association for Computational Linguistics.

Hoekstra, E. 1993a. Dialectal variation inside CP as parametric variation. In *Dialectsyntax*, ed. W. Abraham and J. Bayer, 161–179. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

———. 1993b. On the parametrisation of functional projections in CP. In *Proceedings of the Twenty-third Meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society*, ed. A. Schafer, 191–204. Amherst, MA: GLSA.

———. 1994. Overtollige voegwoorden en de volgorde *of* + interrogativum/relativum. *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 87: 314–321.

———. 1999. On D-pronouns and the movement of topic features. *Folia linguistica* 33: 59–74.

Hoekstra, E., and C. J.-W. Zwart. 1994. De structuur van de CP: Functionele projecties voor topics en vraagwoorden in het Nederlands. *Spektator* 23: 191–212.

———. 1997. Weer functionele projecties. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 2: 121–132.

Hoekstra, J. 1990. Taalsnipels 136: Wer dat oer? *Leeuwarder Courant*, February 17, 1990.

———. 1991. Oer it beklamjen fan ferhaldingswurden yn it Frysk, it Hollansk en it Ingelsk. *Us Wurk* 40: 67–103.

———. 1993. The split CP hypothesis and the Frisian complementizer system. Manuscript. Frisian Academy.

———. 1995. Preposition stranding and resumptivity in West Germanic. In *Studies in comparative Germanic syntax*, ed. H. Haider, S. Olsen, and S. Vikner, 95–118. Amsterdam: Kluwer.

Höhle, T. 1990. German w . . . w-constructions. Manuscript. University of Tübingen.

———. 1992. Uber Verum-Fokus im Deutschen. In *Informationsstruktur und Grammatik*, ed. J. Jacobs, 112–141. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Holmberg, A. 2003. Yes/no questions and the relation between tense and polarity in English and Finnish. In *Linguistic Variation Yearbook 2003*, ed. P. Pica and J. Rooryck, 43–68. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Holmberg, A., U. Nikanne, I. Oraviita, H. Reime, and T. Trosterud. 1993. The structure of INFL and the finite clause in Finnish. In *Case and other functional categories in Finnish syntax*, ed. A. Holmberg and U. Nikanne, 177–206. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Holmberg, A., and C. Platzack. 1995. *The role of inflection in Scandinavian syntax.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hornstein, N. 1995. *Logical Form: From GB to Minimalism.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Hornstein, N., and A. Weinberg. 1987. Superiority and generalised binding. In *Proceedings of the North Eastern Linguistic Society 17*, ed. J. McDonough and B. Plunkett, 311–326. Amherst, MA: GLSA.

Iatridou, S., and A. Kroch. 1992. The licensing of CP-recursion and its relevance to the Germanic verb-second phenomenon. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 50: 1–24.

Jaeggli, O., and K. Safir. 1989. The null subject parameter and parametric theory. In *The null subject parameter*, ed. O. Jaeggli and K. Safir, 1–44. Amsterdam: Kluwer.

Jayaseelan, K. A. 1990. Incomplete VP deletion and gapping. *Linguistic Analysis* 20: 64–81.

Johannessen, J. B. 1998. *Coordination.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, K. 1991. Object positions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9: 577–636.

———. 1996. When verb phrases go missing. *Glot International* 2: 3–9.

———. 2001. What VP-ellipsis can do, and what it can't, but not why. In *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory*, ed. M. Baltin and C. Collins, 439–479. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 2003. In search of the middle field. Manuscript. University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Kayne, R. S. 1989. Facets of Romance past participle agreement. In *Dialect variation and the theory of grammar*, ed. P. Benincà, 85–103. Dordrecht: Foris.

———. 1993. Towards a modular theory of auxiliary selection. *Studia Linguistica* 47: 3–31.

———. 1996. Microparametric syntax: Some introductory remarks. In *Microparametric syntax and dialect variation*, ed. J. R. Black and V. Motapanyane, ix–xviii. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 2006. Expletives, datives and the tension between morphology and syntax. Manuscript. New York University.

Kayne, R. S., and J.-Y. Pollock. 2001. New thoughts on stylistic inversion. In *Subject inversion in Romance and the theory of Universal Grammar*, ed. A. Hulk and J.-Y. Pollock, 107–161. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kehler, A. 2002. Another problem for syntactic and semantic theories of VP-ellipsis. *Snippets* 5: 11–12.

Kemenade, A. van. 2000. Jespersen's cycle revisited. In *Diachronic syntax*, ed. S. Pintzuk, G. Tsoulas, and A. Warner, 51–74. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kennedy, C., and J. Merchant. 2000a. Attributive comparative deletion. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 18: 89–146.

———. 2000b. The case of the "missing CP" and the secret Case. In *The Jorge Hankamer Webfest*, ed. S. Chung, J. McCloskey, and N. Sanders. http://ling.ucsc.edu/ Jorge/index.html.

Kim, J.-S. 1997. Syntactic focus movement and ellipsis: A minimalist approach. Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut.

Koopman, H. 2000. *The syntax of specifiers and heads*. London: Routledge.

Koopman, H., and D. Sportiche. 1991. The position of subjects. *Lingua* 85: 211–258.

Koopman, H., and A. Szabolcsi. 2000. *Verbal complexes*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Koppen, M. van. 2003. A new view on first conjunct agreement: evidence from Dutch dialects. Manuscript. Leiden University.

———. 2005. One probe, two goals: Aspects of agreement in Dutch dialects. Ph.D. diss., Leiden University.

Koster, J. 1978. Why subject sentences don't exist. In *Recent transformational studies in European languages*, ed. S. J. Keyser, 53–64. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Laka, I. 1990. Negation in syntax. On the nature of functional categories and projections. Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Lambrecht, K. 2001. A framework for the analysis of cleft constructions. *Linguistics* 39: 463–516.

Lasnik, H. 1972. Analyses of negation in English. Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

———. 1999a. On feature strength: Three minimalist approaches to overt movement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 197–217.

———. 1999b. Pseudogapping puzzles. In *Fragments: Studies in ellipsis and gapping*, ed. S. Lappin and E. Benmamoun, 141–174. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2001a. A note on the EPP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 356–362.

———. 2001b. Subjects, objects, and the EPP. *Objects and other subjects: Grammatical functions, functional categories, and configurationality*, ed. W. D. Davies and S. Dubinsky, 103–121. Amsterdam: Kluwer.

———. 2001c. When can you save a structure by destroying it? In *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society 31*, ed. M. Kim and U. Strauss, 301–320. Amherst, MA: GLSA.

———. 2006. Multiple sluicing in English. Manuscript. University of Maryland, College Park.

Lasnik, H., and M.-K. Park. 2003. The EPP and the Subject Condition under sluicing. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34: 649–660.

Lasnik, H., and N. Sobin. 2000. The who/whom puzzle: On the preservation of an archaic feature. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 18: 343–371.

Lasnik, H., and T. Stowell. 1991. Weakest crossover. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 687–720.

Lebeaux, D. 1988. Language acquisition and the form of the grammar. Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Lee, F. 2001. WH- and focus are not the same projection. In *Proceedings of the Twentieth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. K. Megerdoomian and L. A. Bar-el, 346–357. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla.

Legate, J. 2003. Some interface properties of the phase. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34: 506–516.

Levin, L. 1982. Sluicing: A lexical interpretation procedure. *The mental representation of grammatical relations*, ed. J. Bresnan, 590–654. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Levin, N. S. 1978. Some Identity-of-Sense deletions puzzle me: Do they you? In *Proceedings of the fourteenth annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, ed. D. Farkas, W. M. Jacobsen, and K. W. Todrys, 229–240. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

———. 1979. Main verb ellipsis in spoken English. Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University.

Lipták, A. 2001. On the syntax of *wh*-items in Hungarian. Ph.D. diss., Leiden University.

———. 2003. The expression of sentential emphasis in Hungarian. Manuscript. Leiden University.

Lobeck, A. 1995. *Ellipsis: Functional heads, licensing and identification*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 1999. VP Ellipsis and the Minimalist Program: some speculations and proposals. In *Fragments: Studies in ellipsis and gapping*, ed. S. Lappin and E. Benmamoun, 98–123. New York: Oxford University Press.

López, L. 1995. Polarity and predicate anaphora. Ph.D. diss., Cornell University.

———. 1999. Verb Phrase Ellipsis in English and Spanish and the features of auxiliaries. *Probus* 11: 263–297.

López, L., and S. Winkler. 2000. Focus and topic in VP-anaphora constructions. *Linguistics* 38: 623–664.

McCloskey, J. 1979. *Transformational syntax and model theoretic semantics: A case study in Modern Irish*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

———. 1990. Resumptive pronouns, A'-binding, and levels of representation in Irish. In *The syntax of the Modern Celtic languages*, ed. R. Hendrick, 199–248. Syntax and Semantics no. 23. Burlington, MA: Academic Press.

———. 1991a. Clause structure, ellipsis and proper government in Irish. *Lingua* 85: 259–302.

———. 1991b. There, it, and agreement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 563–567.

———. 2000. Quantifier float and wh-movement in an Irish English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31: 57–84.

McDaniel, D. 1986. Conditions on wh-chains. Ph.D. diss., City University of New York.

———. 1989. Partial and multiple *wh*-movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 7: 565–604.

Meinunger, A. 1998. A monoclausal structure for pseudo-cleft sentences. In *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society 28*, ed. P. N. Tamanji and K. Kusumoto, 283–298. Amherst, MA: GLSA.

Merchant, J. 1998. "Pseudosluicing": Elliptical clefts in Japanese and English. In *ZAS Working Papers in Linguistics 10*, ed. A. Alexiadou et al., 88–112. Berlin: Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.

———. 2001. *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands and the theory of ellipsis*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2002. Swiping in Germanic. In *Studies in comparative Germanic syntax*, ed. C. J.-W. Zwart and W. Abraham, 289–315. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 2003. Subject-Auxiliary Inversion in comparatives and PF output constraints. In *The syntax-semantics interface: Interpreting omitted structures*, ed. K. Schwabe and S. Winkler, 55–77. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27: 661–738.

———. 2006a. Sluicing. In *The Syntax Companion*, ed. M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk, 269–289. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 2006b. Why no(t)? *Style* 20.1–2: 20–23.

———. 2007. Voice and ellipsis. Manuscript. University of Chicago.

———. 2008a. An asymmetry in voice mismatches in VP-ellipsis and pseudogapping. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39: 169–179.

———. 2008b. Variable island repair under ellipsis. In *Topics in ellipsis*, ed. K. Johnson, 169–179. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mitchell, E. 1994. On the position of NegP in English and the status of 'not'. In *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics 12*, ed. H. Grabois, D. Parkinson and D. Yeager, 94–126. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics.

Moro, A. 1997. *The raising of predicates: Predicative noun phrases and the theory of clause structure.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mortensen, D. 2003. Two types of variable elements in Hmong anaphora. Manuscript. University of California, Berkeley.

Mulder, R., and M. Den Dikken. 1991. Tough parasitic gaps. In *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society*, 303–317. Amherst, MA: GLSA.

Müller, G. 2005. Constraints in syntax. Pt. 5. Transderivational constraints in the Minimalist Program. Handouts for a course taught during the Summer semester, University of Leipzig.

Munaro, N. 1998. On some differences between exclamative and interrogative wh-phrases in Bellunese: Further evidence for a split-CP hypothesis. Manuscript. University of Padua.

Munaro, N., and C. Poletto. 2004. Ways of clausal typing. In *Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Incontro di Grammatica Generativa*, ed. G. Cocchi and C. Donati, 87–106. Padua: Unipress.

———. 2005. On the diachronic origin of sentential particles in North-Eastern Italian dialects. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 28: 247–267.

Neeleman, A., and K. Szendroi. 2007. Radical pro drop and the morphology of pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38: 671–714.

Nishigauchi, T. 1998. "Multiple sluicing" in Japanese and the functional nature of *wh*-phrases. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 7: 121–152.

Nissenbaum, J. 1998. Movement and derived predicates: Evidence from parasitic gaps. In *The interpretive tract*, ed. U. Sauerland and O. Percus, MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 25, 247–295. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.

———. 2000. Investigation of covert phrase movement. Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Noguchi, T. 1995. The role of syntactic categories in anaphora. Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Nunes, J. 2004. *Linearization of chains and sideward movement.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ochi, M. 1999. Some consequences of Attract F. *Lingua* 109: 81–107.

Paardekooper, P. C. 1993. Janik/Neenik enz. *Tabu* 23: 143–170.

Panagiotidis, P. 2003a. Empty nouns. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21: 381–432.

———. 2003b. *One*, empty nouns and theta-assginment. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34: 281–292.

Pesetsky, D. 1987. Wh-in-situ: Movement and unselective binding. In *The representation of indefiniteness*, ed. E. Reuland and A. ter Meulen, 98–129. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 1989. The Earliness Principle. Manuscript. MIT.
———. 2000. *Phrasal movement and its kin.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Pesetsky, D., and E. Torrego. 2001. T-to-C movement: Causes and consequences. *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. M. Kenstowicz, 355–426. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Plessis, H. du. 1977. *Wh* movement in Afrikaans. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 723–726.
Poletto, C. 2000. *The higher functional field: Evidence from northern Italian dialects.* New York: Oxford University Press.
———. 2002. The left-periphery of V2-Rhaetoromance dialects: A new view on V2 and V3. *Syntactic Microvariation*, ed. S. Barbiers, L. Cornips and S. van der Kleij. www.meertens.knaw.nl/books/synmic/.
Poletto, C., and J.-Y. Pollock. 2002, April 9–11. On the left periphery of Romance interrogatives. Abstract with a presentation to the twenty-fifth annual meeting of Generative Linguisitics of the Old World, Meertens Institute, Amsterdam.
Poletto, C., and R. Zanuttini. 2007. Sentential particles and remnant movement. Manuscript. University of Venice and Georgetown University.
Pollock, J.-Y. 1989. Verb movement, Universal Grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 365–424.
Pope, E. N. 1975. *Questions and answers in English.* Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistic Club.
Postal, P. 1972. On some rules that are not successive-cyclic. *Linguistic Inquiry* 3: 211–222.
Postma, G. 1993. The syntax of the morphological defectivity of BE. *HIL Manuscripts* 1: 31–67.
Postma, G., and W. van der Wurff. 2007. How to say No and Don't: Negative imperatives in Romance and Germanic. In *Imperative clauses in Generative Grammar*, ed. W. van der Wurff, 205–249. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Potsdam, E. 2007. Malagasy sluicing and its consequences for the identity requirement on ellipsis. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25: 577–613.
Potts, C. 2002. The lexical semantics of parenthetical-*as* and appositive-*which*. *Syntax* 5: 55–88.
Prince, E. 1978. A comparison of wh-clefts and it-clefts in discourse. *Language* 54: 883–906.
Reinhart, T. 1981. A second Comp position. *Theory of markedness in generative grammar: Proceedings of the 1979 GLOW conference*, ed. A. Belletti, L. Brandi, and L. Rizzi, 517–557. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore.
———. 1987. Wh-in-situ: Who vs. which N. Manuscript. Tel Aviv University.
———. 1990. Interpreting wh-in-situ. Manuscript. Tel Aviv University.
———. 1997. Quantifier scope: How labor is divided between QR and choice functions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 20: 335–397.
Rezac, M. 2003. The fine structure of cyclic Agree. *Syntax* 6: 156–182.
———. 2004. On *Tough* Movement. Manuscript. University of the Basque Country.
Richards, N. 1997. What moves where when in which language? Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
———. 2001. *Movement in languages: Interactions and architectures.* New York: Oxford University Press.
Riemsdijk, H. van. 1978a. *A case study in syntactic markedness: The binding nature of prepositional phrases.* Dordrecht: Foris.
———. 1978b. On the diagnosis of *wh* movement. In *Transformational studies in European languages*, ed. S. J. Keyser, 189–206. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Rizzi, L. 1986. Null objects in Italian and the theory of *pro*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17: 501–557.
———. 1990. *Relativized minimality.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 1997a. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar*, ed. L. Haegeman, 281–337. Amsterdam: Kluwer.

———. 1997b. A parametric approach to comparative syntax: Properties of the pronominal system. In *The new comparative syntax*, ed. L. Haegeman, 268–285. London: Longman.

———. 2000. Reconstruction, weak island sensitivity, and agreement. Manuscript. University of Siena.

———. 2001. On the position Int(errogative) in the left periphery of the clause. In *Current studies in Italian linguistics: Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, ed. G. Cinque and G. Salvi, 287–296. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

———. 2004. Locality and left periphery. *Structures and beyond: The cartography of syntactic structures: Vol. 3*, ed. A. Belletti, 223–251. New York: Oxford University Press.

Robbers, K. 1992. Properties of negation in Afrikaans and Italian. In *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1992*, ed. R. Bok-Bennema and R. van Hout, 223–234. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Roberts, I. 1993. *Verbs and diachronic syntax.* Amsterdam: Kluwer.

Rohrbacher, B. W. 1999. *Morphology-driven syntax: A theory of V to I raising and pro-drop.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Romero, M., and C.-H. Han. 2002. Verum focus and Ladd's n/neg p ambiguity. In *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory 12*, ed. B. Jackson, 204–224. Ithaca, N.Y.: CLC.

Rooryck, J. 2001. *Configurations of sentential complementation: Perspectives from Romance languages.* New York: Routledge.

Rosen, C. 1976. Guess what about? In *Papers from the sixth meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society*, ed. A. Ford, J. Reighard, and R. Singh, 205–211. Montréal: Montréal Working Papers in Linguistics.

Ross, J. R. 1967. Constraints on variables in syntax. Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

———. 1969. Guess who? In *Papers from the fifth regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, ed. R. Binnick, A. Davidson, G. Green, and J. Morgan, 252–286. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Rudin, C. 1988. On multiple questions and multiple wh-fronting. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 445–501.

Rullmann, H., and C. J.-W. Zwart. 1996. On saying *dat.* In *Language and cognition 5: Yearbook 1995 of the Research Group of Theoretical and Experimental Linguistics of the University of Groningen*, ed. R. Jonkers, E. Kaan, and A. Wiegel, 179–194. Groningen: University of Groningen.

Ryckeboer, H. 1986. Het hulpwerkwoord *doen* in replieken. In *Vruchten van zijn akker, Opstellen van. oud-medewerkers en oud-studenten voor Prof. dr. V. F. Vanacker*, ed. M. Devos and J. Taeldeman, 321–337. Ghent: Seminarie voor Nederlandse Taalkunde en Vlaamse Dialectologie.

———. 1998. Substituting *doen* in tag questions and short replies in southern Dutch dialects. In *DO in English, Dutch and German, History and present-day variation*, ed. I. Tieken-Boon van Ostade, M. van der Wal, and A. van Leuvensteijn, 65–81. Münster: Nodus.

Sag, I. A. 1979. The non-unity of anaphora. *Linguistic Inquiry* 10: 152–164.

———. 1980. *Deletion and Logical Form.* New York: Garland Press.

Sag, I. A., and J. Hankamer. 1984. Toward a theory of anaphoric processing. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 7: 325–345.

Sauerland, U. 1996. Guess how? In *Proceedings of the fourth Conference of the Student Organisation of Linguistics in Europe*, ed. J. Costa, R. Goedemans, and R. van de Vijver, 297–309. Leiden: SOLE.

———. 1998. The meaning of chains. Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Schlenker, P. 2003. Clausal equations. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21: 157–214.

Schütze, C. T. 2004. Synchronic and diachronic microvariation in English *do*. *Lingua* 114: 495–516.

Schuyler, T. 2002. Wh-movement out of the site of VP Ellipsis. M.A. thesis, University of California at Santa Cruz.

Schwarzschild, R. 1999. GIVENness, AVOIDF, and other constraints on the placement of accent. *Natural Language Semantics* 7: 141–177.

Sharvit, Y. 1999. Connectivity in specificational sentences. *Natural Language Semantics* 7: 299–339.

Sharvit, Y., and E. Guerzoni. 1999. Reconstruction and its problems. In *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Amsterdam Colloquium*, ed. P. Dekker and R. van Rooy, 205–210. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

Smessaert, H. 1995. Morfosyntaxis van het Westvlaamse bè-jaa-k-gie. *Tabu* 25: 45–60.

Speas, M. 1994. Null arguments in a theory of economy of projections. In *Functional projections*, ed. E. Benedicto and J. Runner, University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics, 179–208. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Graduate Linguistic Student Association.

Sportiche, D. 2002, April 7–8. *Movement types and triggers*. Abstract for the conference Tools in Linguistic Theory 1, University of Utrecht.

Sprouse, J. 2005. The Accent Projection Principle: Why the hell not? *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 12.1: 349–359.

Stepanov, A. 2001. Cyclic domains in syntactic theory. Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut.

Sternefeld, W. 2001. Semantic vs. syntactic reconstruction. In *Linguistic form and its computation*, ed. H. Kamp, A. Ropssdeutscher, and C. Rhorer, 145–182. Stanford: CSLI.

Sturm, A. 1996. Over functionele projecties. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 1: 191–206.

Svenonius, P. 1998. Clefts in Scandinavian: An investigation. In *ZAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 10, ed. A. Alexiadou et al., 163–190. Berlin: Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.

———. 2000. Impersonal passives and the EPP: A phase-based analysis. In *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*, ed. A. Holmer, J.-O. Svantesson, and A. Viberg, 109–125. Lund: Travaux de l'Institut de Linguistique de Lund.

———. 2002. Subject positions and the placement of adverbials. In *Subjects, Expletives, and the EPP*, ed. P. Svenonius, 199–240. New York: Oxford University Press.

Szabolcsi, A., and F. Zwarts. 1993. Weak islands and algebraic semantics for scope taking. *Natural Language Semantics* 1: 235–284.

Takahashi, D. 1994. Minimality of movement. Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut.

Takahashi, S. 2004. Pseudogapping and cyclic linearization. Manuscript. Massachusetts of Technology.

Takami, K.-I. 1992. *Preposition stranding: From syntactic to functional analyses*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Tancredi, C. 1992. Deletion, deaccenting and presupposition. Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts of Technology.

Thraínsson, H. 1996. On the. non-universality of functional categories. In *Minimal ideas: Syntactic studies in the Minimalist framework*, ed. W. Abraham et al., 252–281. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tomioka, S. 1999. A sloppy identity puzzle. *Natural Language Semantics* 7: 217–241.

———. 2001. On a certain scope asymmetry in VP Ellipsis contexts. In *Linguistic form and its computation*, ed. C. Rohrer, A. Roßduetscher, and H. Kamp, 183–204. Stanford: CSLI.
———. 2003. The semantics of Japanese null pronouns and its cross-linguistic implications. In *The interfaces: Deriving and interpreting omitted structures*, ed. K. Schwabe and S. Winkler, 321–339. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Travis, L. 1984. *Parameters and effects of word order variation.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Tsai, W.-T. D. 1994. On economizing the theory of A-bar dependencies. Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts of Technology.
———. 1999. The hows of why and the whys of how. In *UCI Working Papers in Linguistics 5*, ed. F. Del Gobbo and H. Hoshi, 155–184. Irvine: Linguistics Department, University of California, Irvine.
Uriagereka, J. 1999. Multiple Spell-Out. In *Working Minimalism*, ed. S. Epstein and N. Hornstein, 251–282. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Vanacker, V. F. 1948. *Syntaxis van het Aalsters dialect.* Tongeren, Belgium: Michiels.
———. 1949. Over enkele meervoudsvormen van voegwoorden. *Taal and Tongval* 1: 32–45, 77–93, 108–112.
Vikner, S. 1995. *Verb movement and expletive subjects in the Germanic languages.* New York: Oxford University Press.
Vogelaer, G. de. 2003. Vervoeging van onvervoegbare dingen: Over clitica na 'ja' en 'neen'. Manuscript. University of Ghent.
———. 2004. Overzicht van clitica na 'ja' en 'neen'. Manuscript. University of Ghent.
Wilder, C. 1991. Tough movement constructions. *Linguistische Berichte* 132: 115–132.
Williams, E. S. 1977a. Discourse and Logical Form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 101–139.
———. 1977b. On "Deep and surface anaphora." *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 692–696.
Winkler, S. 2003. Ellipsis at the interfaces. Habilitation thesis, University of Tübingen.
Wyngaerd, G. vanden. 1998. Gapping constituents. Manuscript. Catholic University of Brussels.
Zagona, K. 1982. Government and proper government of verbal projections. Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, Seattle.
———. 1988. Proper government of antecedentless VPs in English and Spanish. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 95–128.
Zanuttini, R. 1997. *Negation and clausal structure. A comparative study of Romance languages.* New York: Oxford University Press.
Zanuttini, R., and P. Portner. 2003. Exclamative clauses at the syntax-semantics interface. *Language* 79: 39–81.
Zeijlstra, H. 2004. Sentential negation and negative concord. Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam.
Zwart, C. J.-W. 1993a. Clues from dialect syntax: Complementizer agreement. In *Dialectsyntax*, ed. W. Abraham and J. Bayer, 246–270. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
———. 1993b. Dutch syntax: A minimalist approach. Ph.D. diss., University of Groningen.
———. 1997. *Morphosyntax of verb movement: A minimalist approach to the syntax of Dutch.* Amsterdam: Kluwer.
———. 2000. A head-raising analysis of relative clauses in Dutch. In *The syntax of relative clauses*, ed. A. Alexiadou, P. Law, A. Meinunger, and C. Wilder, 349–385. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
———. 2004, June 3–5. On verb second as edge alignment. Abstract for the nineteenth Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop, City University of New York Graduate Center.

Language Index

Name Index

Subject Index